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THE STORY OF THE WAR: RUSSIA'S NAVAL TRIUMPH

The important victory of the Russian warships in the Gulf of Riga was the outcome of the only considerable naval engagement that has occurred since Admiral Beatty defeated the flying division of German cruisers in the North Sea in January.

The official Russian reports claim that in the three days' fighting which resulted in the withdrawal of the German vessels from the Gulf of Riga the Russians sank three cruisers and eight "torpedo boats" or "torpedo boat destroyers" (one report says torpedo boats and another says destroyers). If these vessels were destroyers, the victory of the Russians is the greater, for the torpedo boat is a virtually obsolete craft and is no longer built by any of the great nations. Last, but not least, a British submarine, hunting with the Russians, torpedoed and sank the battle cruiser Moltke, or a vessel of her type, which is one of the strongest and most modern types in the German navy.

The Russians are specific in their reiterations that it was the Moltke and not a similar vessel which was done for by the British submarine. The Moltke, which was one of the battle cruisers damaged by Admiral Beatty's ships, was a sister ship of the Goeben, which sought refuge from the Anglo-French Mediterranean fleet in Turkish waters nearly a year ago. The Moltke was of 22,640 tons displacement, had a speed of twenty-eight and one-half knots an hour, and carried ten 11-inch and twelve 5.9-inch guns in addition to four torpedo tubes. She is the largest vessel that the German allies have yet lost, unless it be true that the Goeben was recently sent to the bottom of the Black Sea by another British submarine.

In admitting the loss of two torpedo boats by mines the German Admiralty claims the sinking of the Russian gunboats Sivutch and Koreets and several torpedo boats. The Russians admit the loss of only the Sivutch. It seems to be established, however, that the Russians won a substantial victory, and that the Germans have given up their naval operations in Riga Gulf at least for the time being.

THE BEAR LIMPING IN RETREAT

The defeat of the German fleet is undoubtedly a considerable setback to the entire programme of Germany in Russia. But the fact remains that whether the Teutons seriously entertain hopes of winning Petrograd or not, it now seems certain that, instead of being ready to accept the defensive in Russia and remove large forces from there to other fronts, they have made up their minds to spare no effort to finish the Russian bear once and for all now that he is in limping retreat before them.

For the Russians ashore are steadily being worsted. Novo Georgievsk, Kovel, and Ossowetz fell during the week; Brest Litovsk, Vilna, and Grodno are all in imminent danger. The surrender or annihilation of the garrison left isolated in Novo Georgievsk when the Slavs fell back from Warsaw was a foregone conclusion; but the loss of Kovel, a junction on the railway from Kiev to Rovno, and of Ossowetz, a citadel important in the Russian scheme of defense, are both serious blows to the Czar.

One after another the Germans have been taking the Russian railways. A sinister news item is the German announcement of a Lille-Warsaw express train service. In the positions which the Russians occupy as we go to press, the railway that runs parallel to their battle line and not far behind it through Brest Litovsk, Bielsk, Bialostock, Grodno, Vilna, and Dvinsk to Petrograd is a vital artery. But it seems probable that somewhere on the long northwestern front the Germans will succeed in cutting this line, an event that would make necessary an immediate and considerable retreat by the Grand Duke Nicholas. The Russian armies escaped capture in the Warsaw salient, but they are now threatened again by the tremendous efforts of Hindenburg's northern forces to turn their right

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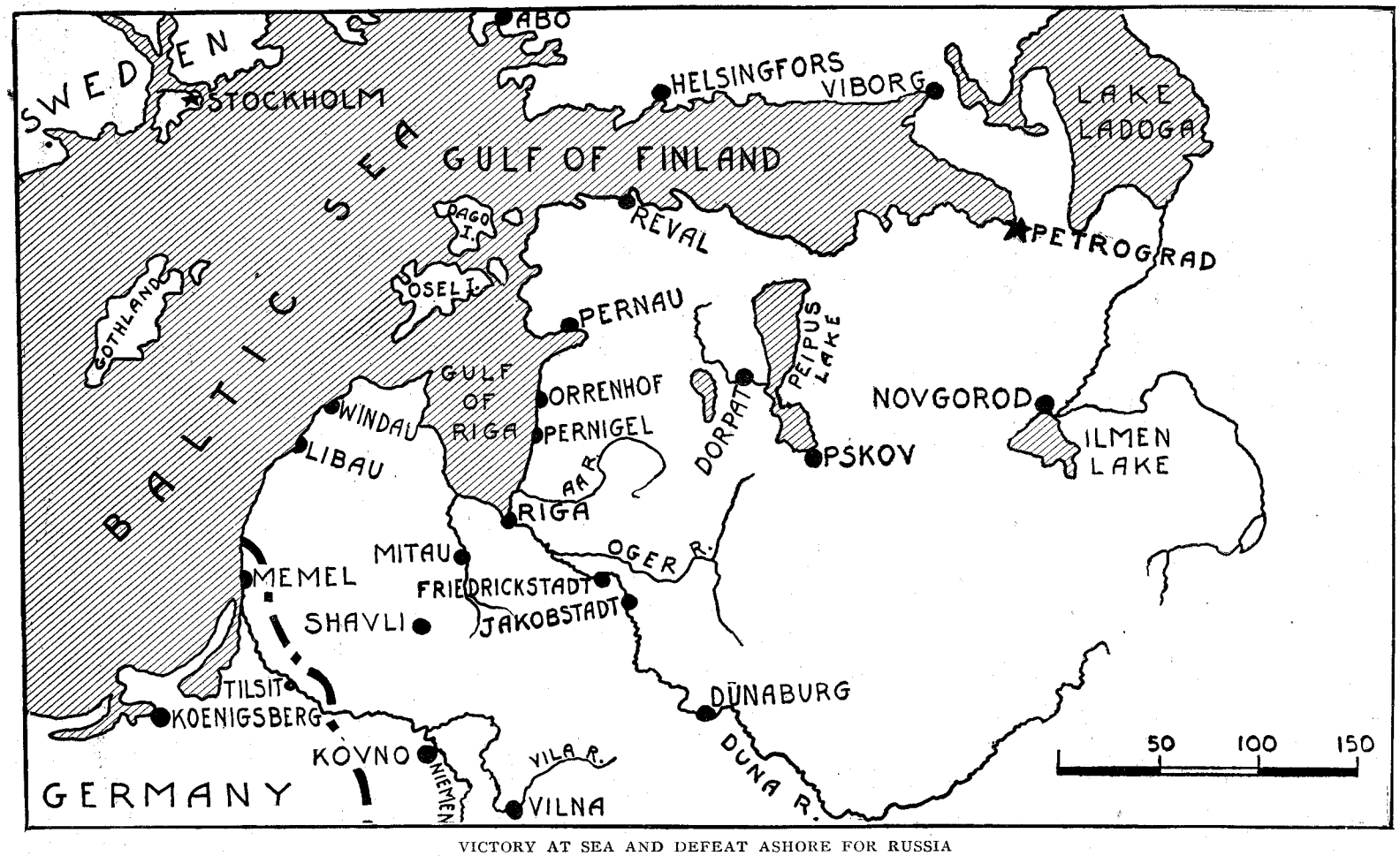

VICTORY AT SEA AND DEFEAT ASHORE FOR RUSSIA

In the Gulf of Riga off Pernigel the Russians have defeated the German fleet that was co-operating with the German forces ashore in the assault on Riga. The Russians sank either eight German torpedo boats or eight destroyers and also three small cruisers, while a British submarine is reported to have sunk the giant Moltke, one of Germany's largest battle cruisers. But ashore the Russians continue to get the worst of it. In the north the German line now runs east of Kovno nearly to Jakobstadt and thence over almost to the outskirts of Riga. The Germans are trying to cut the railway from Vilna to Petrograd, an event that might lead to the envelopment of the Russian armies

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flank and break through, cutting the Grand Duke Nicholas in the field from his nephew, Nicholas II, in Petrograd.

STUPID AND CRUEL

The press of all Scandinavia, and particularly of Denmark, has been aroused by the violation of Danish neutrality by a German destroyer which fired on the British submarine E–13 while the under-sea boat was aground on the Danish island of Saltholm. Reports from these sources confirm the statement of the British Admiralty that, after her crew had abandoned the submarine under the fire of the destroyer, "while the men were in the water they were fired upon by machine guns and with shrapnel." The German craft ceased firing on the helpless sailors only when a Danish torpedo boat steamed between them and the Kaiser's vessel.

The Danish newspaper the "Nortland" says:

"There can be no question that the German commander was aware he was violating Danish neutrality. The incident is simply in accord with German methods throughout the whole war."

Another Danish journal, the "Kjöbenhaven," says:

"We received the news with deep pain that fourteen sailors of a friendly nation lost their lives, not even in unequal combat, but without the faintest chance of defending themselves." And even the Swedish "Dagens Nyheter," which is supposed to be the semi-official organ of the Swedish Foreign Office, remarks that "the most criminal feature of the affair is the German craft's action in firing upon British sailors who had given themselves up to a neutral Power and naturally assumed that they were safe from enemy attacks."

The unofficial German defense of this act is that it was no worse than the attack on the German cruiser Dresden by British cruisers while the Dresden was in Chilean waters. The two cases are alike in that both involved an attack on a war-ship by ships of an enemy nation within the territorial waters of a third nation. But there the parallel stops. The British did not fire on the Dresden's crew when the ship had been destroyed, and there is no record that they or the seamen of their allies have been guilty of such brutality in this war.

But the stupidity of the conduct of the commander of the German destroyer is more astonishing than his inhumanity. It is by such acts as these that Germany has gradually lost the sympathy of the civilized neutral world.

ITALY DECLARES WAR ON TURKEY

If May 23, 1915, shall stand out in history as an important day because on it Italy declared war on Austria, August 21, 1915, may also stand out, for on that day Italy declared war against Turkey.

For a long time Italy has had abundant reason for hostility. Six months ago the Turkish treatment of Italian consuls was outrageous enough to bring Italy to the verge of war. Since then there has been constant friction. Many thousand Italians have been residing in the Turkish Empire. The popular feeling against them has apparently not diminished since the Tripolitan War. In June some Italian consuls had to close their offices, so it was reported, and leave their tasks to American consular representatives. Finally, on July 20, the Italian Government asked our Government to use its influence at Constantinople for the protection of Italian subjects.

But this was not all. Evidence was increasing that Turkey had violated the Treaty of Lausanne, which closed the Tripolitan War. According to this treaty Turkey was to withdraw all troops and officers from Tripoli and to aid in the suppression of revolt among the tribesmen. Instead, according to Italian information, the Turkish War Office despatched officers into the district to foment revolutions. After an exchange of notes, which Italy regarded as merely a further instance of Oriental procrastination, the Italian Government despatched an ultimatum on August 5, asking for an explanation of Turkey's failure to withdraw her troops from Tripoli and protesting against the oppression of Italian consuls. This led to an unsatisfactory result. Hence the Italian Ambassador at Constantinople was instructed to demand a final and satisfactory reply on the following day. If he did not get it, he was to ask for his passports. The reply was unsatisfactory. So the Ambassador left Constantinople, and Italy declared war on Turkey.

A squadron of Italian cruisers has already gone to the Ægean, and it is expected that a force of at least one hundred and fifty thousand men will be transported to Turkey. They may either aid the campaign at Gal-

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lipoli, or, landing at some Turkish port, say Enos, march overland to Constantinople.

In either event, Italy's entrance into the Turkish campaign will mean a good deal more than the addition of one hundred and fifty thousand men, or of so many ships. Let it not be forgotten that, after many months of preparation, the military and naval forces of Italy are in a state of signal efficiency.

But in addition to this there is a moral as well as a material value. The entrance of Italy must powerfully affect sentiment in Bulgaria, Rumania, and Greece.

THE BALKAN STATES

This is already true of Bulgaria and Rumania. It is reported that the Bulgarian Government has itself concentrated a force of a hundred and fifty thousand men on the Turkish frontier. The statement of the Bulgarian Prime Minister is now confirmed by the statements of Bulgarian representatives abroad, that, if Servia and Greece will cede that part of Macedonia inhabited mostly by Bulgars, the Bulgarian troops would immediately march on Constantinople.

In Rumania the new conditions are reflected in the report that the railways have received orders to place all rolling stock at the disposition of the Minister of War within three weeks.

As to Greece, while the Venizelos Cabinet, succeeding that of the neutralist Demetrios Ghounaris, has signalized its entrance to power by a declaration of neutrality, no one believes that the man who, against seemingly insurmountable obstacles, was able to establish the Balkan Confederation among Greece, Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro, and thus expel Turkey from most of her European possessions, will now be powerless in the face of the fact that he is opposed only by his monarch and by a small minority in the Greek Parliament. Eleutherios Venizelos showed his hand last March when he arranged with the Bulgarian Prime Minister for a retrocession of sufficient territory to keep Bulgaria from attacking Greece, and intimated to the Entente Powers that Greece could send a large force to their assistance at the Dardanelles. What he planned then he possibly plans now.

COTTON CONTRABAND

Great Britain has declared cotton contraband.

This means that all cotton destined to Germany is subject to seizure whether there is a blockade or not.

In the opinion of many, this declaration of cotton as contraband is not likely to make any very great difference practically. Germany is blockaded by Great Britain. No vessels can go in or out of German ports on the North Sea, and no vessels can, without England's consent, go from the Atlantic into the Baltic Sea. England's blockade does not prevent trade between Germany and the Baltic ports of other countries; but it does prevent all trade between Germany and the United States except as it may be carried on through other neutral countries. It is in order to prevent this trade with Germany through other neutral ports that Great Britain has stopped and searched vessels going to and from ports in Holland and in other neutral countries bordering on the North Sea. Complaint has been made that Great Britain had no right to prevent this trade through neutral ports. Great Britain replied by citing our own practice during the Civil War. One of the rejoinders to Great Britain's reply was that our practice had to do only with contraband, and that cotton was not contraband. So now England calls cotton contraband. The legal analogy is supposed to be made complete.

A good deal of this discussion is, of course, not over facts and things, but over words. It was the same kind of debate that occurred when Great Britain first started to shut off trade from Germany. There was great complaint because she did not call what she was doing "a blockade." When she gave it that particular name, a great deal of that complaint ceased, but she did not change her practice in the least. So now she is going to call cotton "contraband," and we have no doubt that a great deal of the complaint that has arisen will cease.

With the cessation of the old complaint, however, a new ground for complaint has been found. England early in the war said she was going to follow, with a few exceptions that do not apply to this case, the principles laid down in the Declaration of London—and the Declaration of London excludes from the list of contraband raw cotton. Moreover, England told us that she was not going to declare cotton contraband. Now she has done what she said she was not intending to do.

There is some ground for regarding cotton as contraband, for it is used in the manu-

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facture of explosives. There is every reason why it should be regarded as conditional contraband, for anything that is intended for the enemy's forces is contraband in that sense. England, however, does not intend to take any chance, and wants to keep all cotton from Germany.

The matter in dispute is one which involves a number of rather intricate points of international law. Naturally, American cotton-planters want to get as large a market for their wares as they can. And, naturally, England does not wish to do anything that will unnecessarily irritate Americans or alienate American friendliness. On the other hand, the United States cannot with self-respect demand from England the abandonment of a practice in which we ourselves indulged when we were at war. The whole matter is one that is capable of being settled either by diplomatic negotiations or by arbitration. It is not one of life and death. It involves no question of humanity. It is a dispute over property.

To us it seems as if England had made a mistake in the way she has handled the question. She made promises which she has not been willing to keep. On the other hand, she is confronted with a very difficult problem and one which we ourselves would find it hard to solve if we were in a similar position, as we may be some day. These considerations make it necessary for our Government to be cautious and amicable while at the same time straightforward and persistent in protecting American rights. There is, of course, no parallel between the issue with England and the issue with Germany.

DIFFERENCES OF OPINION IN GERMANY

Outwardly every country engaged in war aims to appear united. When such a country is essentially autocratic, the outward appearance is enforced by governmental authority. In Germany unity of national purpose has, moreover, been made the subject of a process of education by the Government, so that the people should not only appear to think alike but actually think alike. Nevertheless, even in Germany at war there are differences of opinion concerning the war.

One of the indications of this break in German unity has been supplied by the Socialist paper "Vorwärts." This is the organ of the Socialist Democratic party and its leader, Liebknecht. It was this paper of which an entire edition was suppressed because of an editorial that appeared in it.

The "Survey" of August 21 reprints this editorial in full. We here give some extracts from it—enough to show clearly that there are men in Germany who feel as strongly as most of us in America that the policy of militaristic aggression is a menace to the world, that Germany is responsible for bringing on the present war, and that those who are fighting against Germany are fighting a war of defense on behalf of liberty. Here are some of the things that "Vorwärts" says:

> The present crisis is terrible. . . . It shows us that the German people is stricken with a malady which in the end may prove fatal; and this malady is jingoism.
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> To argue the contrary was to risk being lynched. As soon as war was actually declared the people of other nations were subjected to every insult. We were honest Germans; our adversaries were "brutal Russians," "perfidious English," "insolent Serbs." . . . As to who began the war—we were the innocent lambs, while the French, Russians, and British were the wolves of the fable. Those who formerly had imputed to the Jews all the faults of our social state now discovered in England the cause of everything.
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> Then one heard the atrocious details of the war in Belgium. The inhabitants had fired on our soldiers. The Belgians were "assassins," "savage beasts," unworthy of any consideration. They must expiate their crimes by sword and fire. No one troubled to explain the uprising of the Belgian people.
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> Those who desire war ought to accept the evils that it brings. To be enthusiastic for war and then to descend to petty stories about dum-dum bullets is simply to grow besotted. Our jingoes have yelled, a hundred thousand times since the war began, "The duty of every citizen is to defend his country to his last breath." Those poor wretches of Belgium and France—have they done anything else? Have they not defended home and fatherland? If we acted thus, our conduct would be heroic. On the part of our adversaries it is rebellion and murder.
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> Let us understand, then, that we are not merely Germans, French, or Russians, but that we are all men, that all the peoples are of the same blood, and that they have no right to kill one another, but that they ought to love and help one another. Such is Christianity, humane

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conduct. Man does not belong to one nation only; he belongs to humanity.

THE ISLAND OF HAITI

Every day some new event emphasizes the increasing interest which the island of Haiti has for all who watch the beginnings of law and order.

The cruder form of civilization is represented by that third of the island governed by the Haitian Republic.

The present exigency apparently affords to the United States Government a valuable opportunity for beginning such a work as it began in Santo Domingo (the other two-thirds of the island) in 1905, and which has redounded to our lasting credit.

Like many another Latin-American country, Haiti has been a hotbed of intrigue and revolution; indeed, revolution has seemed the normal and not the abnormal element of life there. The most recent revolution, as already described in The Outlook, necessitated American intervention, and, since the latest chronicle of Haitian affairs in this paper, the area of our intervention has been considerably extended. We began by entering Port-au-Prince. It was then necessary to secure Cap Haïtien. Now it has become necessary to take over the custom-house at Saint Mare. Admiral Caperton, in charge of our affairs, has assumed charge of these custom-houses. It is expected that our naval forces in Haiti will shortly be increased by some three hundred and fifty marines, who will take twelve three-inch guns to the island. These will be a welcome reinforcement to the expeditionary force of marines and bluejackets now ashore. The request for the additional force was based on reports that the rebels in the interior of the republic were organizing to attack the Americans. The additional marines will give Admiral Caperton a total of more than twenty-five hundred men available for shore duty, enough to meet all probable emergencies.

Of course this is merely the first step in the preservation of law and order in the interests of the Haitians themselves. Further steps are necessary, owing to the educational and financial exigencies. Somebody must do something to free the natives from their dreadful ignorance and superstition, and somebody ought to assume more than temporary control of the custom-houses, so that the financial and economic history of Santo Domingo may be repeated in the Haitian Republic. That somebody, of course, must be our own Government.

We are glad to add that our Government has now expressed its desire to the Haitian Government to draft a ten-year treaty under which there shall be established a control of Haitian customs dues similar to our control in Santo Domingo; that American officers shall command the municipal and rural police, and that no Haitian territory shall be ceded to any foreign power except the United States.

CLOSING THE SULLIVAN INCIDENT

The Sullivan story in Santo Domingo was supposed to have come to an end with the enforced resignation of Sullivan, but there is an epilogue. The story does not really end with the disappearance of the discredited Minister. The incident is really closed by the appointment of a new Minister. He is William Worthington Russell, we are glad to say. He has served his country well in Venezuela as Secretary of Legation; in Panama as Chargé d'Affaires; in Colombia, and then in Venezuela, and finally in Santo Domingo, as Minister. The appointment is thus a reappointment.

It seems incredible that a man of Mr. Russell's qualifications and experience should have been asked to resign. And yet he was. There was nothing against his record, and, in addition, he was nominally a Democrat. But he had to make room for a more "deserving" Democrat, to use Mr. Bryan's expression.

Certainly one of the worst features, if not the worst, of the Bryan maladministration at Washington was the Sullivan incident. It began with the dismissal of Mr. Russell and now ends by his reappointment.

PAN-AMERICAN RECIPROCITY

After the enactment of the Federal Trade Commission Law, President Wilson pointed out that the Commission might exercise all the functions of a tariff board.

The first step by the Administration to utilize the Commission's powers in this direction has just been begun. It is in the announcement made by the Treasury Department, as follows:

The Commission will make a searching study of all the artificial barriers raised by adverse laws and regulations that hinder the expansion of our commerce with the republics of the

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Western Hemisphere, and will submit recommendations to the President for the removal of the obstacles and for the establishment of reciprocal trade relations.

What are those obstacles? Tariff laws, of course, in the first place. But there are also many other impediments to the growth of trade between Latin-American countries and our own, such as customs regulations, classifications of merchandise, consular certificates and invoices, and, finally, port charges.

The present interesting movement on the part of our Government arose from the recent Pan-American Financial Conference in Washington. The Conference unanimously recommended a co-operative effort among the American governments for the expansion of Pan-American trade. One of the most important results of the Conference was the creation of an International High Commission to consider uniformity of laws relating to trade. This commission will be composed of nine members from each of the nineteen countries that participated in the Conference, the Minister of Finance of each country being chairman of each group.

The Federal Trade Commission will co-operate with the International High Commission as far as practicable to bring about all possible uniformity of laws in the various countries. But the larger question of reciprocity certainly forms the direct basis for the enlargement of Pan-American commercial relations. Thus, with an international body—the High Commission—and with the National body—the Federal Trade Commission—both bending their efforts towards a common end, it does not seem impossible for that end to be attained.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE REPORTS

At the demise of the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations last week there were few mourners. Its dissensions, and particularly the unjudicial and injudicious attitude of its Chairman, deprived it of public confidence. Created, on the initiative of a group of people particularly interested in social questions, for the purpose of investigating the conditions that have led to industrial warfare between capital and labor in this country, this Commission had a great opportunity not only to collect facts but also to present them to the country in a way that would command respect.

Success for the Commission was endangered by the nature of the appointments. Three members were chosen to represent employers, three to represent employees, and three to represent the so-called "public." The element of strife which exists in industry was thus introduced into the Commission itself. Moreover, the Chairman, Mr. Frank P. Walsh, who was one of the public's representatives, made it clear from the start that he had no intention of being judicial. His conception of his office was that it was a platform from which he could carry on an agitation.

The hearings were conducted in such a way as to call attention to sensational evidence and testimony rather than to testimony and evidence that were significant.

Nevertheless, some of the results of these hearings have been of public benefit. By its very dissensions the Commission has demonstrated how deep is the rift between employers and employees, between capital and labor. The Commission has made, furthermore, the industrial problems of the day a matter of news. It has put social problems on the front page of the newspaper. It has thus made a great many people, who have been indifferent through ignorance, think. And it has also revealed to the country some dangers, particularly in some otherwise hidden currents of opinion. And, finally, it has recorded some facts and some suggestions which it is well worth while having on record.

SOME POINTS OF AGREEMENT

Of course such a Commission could not agree on anything very definite. The newspaper report that the nine members of the Commission had succeeded in issuing ten separate and conflicting opinions was impressionistic rather than accurate. As a matter of fact, the Commission resolved itself into three groups. One consisted of the Chairman and the three labor members; the second consisted of the two remaining members of the "public," one of them Professor John R. Commons, of the University of Wisconsin; and the third consisted of the employers' representatives. The two latter groups united for the most part in a common report prepared by Professor Commons, to which the employers' representatives took some exceptions in a separate statement. It thus happens that the majority report is made by a minority of the membership. What is still more paradoxical is that the radical group in

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this Commission makes recommendations that are somewhat conventional, while it is the moderate group that makes the one suggestion that is really radical.

In one particular at least all of the members of the Commission agree without saying so. All their recommendations, radical and moderate alike, involve a larger exercise of power by the Federal Government. The old idea that such questions as safeguarding the rights of property, promoting the welfare of the wage-earner, preventing unrest among the people, and securing justice between employer and employee should be confined to action by the several States does not appear, so far as we have seen, in any part of this Commission's reports. The employers and employees and the public alike, if we may judge by the statements of their respective representatives, agree that these industrial questions are National in their scope and require National treatment.

In two particulars at least all the members of this Commission come to some sort of common agreement. They all agree that there should be some sort of Federal inheritance tax; and they all agree that there should be further provision for permanent investigation of social questions and administration of social and industrial laws.

The Walsh faction in the Commission wish not only to tax inheritances but to prohibit by law the transmission through inheritance of a sum greater than one million dollars. The other members of the Commission do not agree to this limitation of inheritance, but advocate a Federal inheritance tax graded so that the larger the inheritance the larger the per cent of the tax should be.

The Walsh faction make a multitude of recommendations. They propose laws of a great many different sorts—but too many by far to report here. They wish to initiate at least two Constitutional amendments, one embodying a bill of rights and the other prohibiting the courts from declaring any law unconstitutional; and they advocate statutes protecting labor organizations, modifying jury duty, regulating detective agencies, enlarging the powers of the Federal Trade Commission and the Department of Labor, and so on. The rest of the Commission, led by Professor Commons, lay emphasis upon the establishment of a permanent Industrial Commission by the Federal Government. This is a really radical suggestion, for instead of attempting to deal with this symptom and that by one statute and another, it would intrust the whole problem to a non-political body, not connected with any regular department of the Government, but as independent of control by any Cabinet member as the Inter-State Commerce Commission.

WHAT THESE RECOMMENDATIONS SIGNIFY

Without going further into details it is impossible to criticise these reports. It is, however, here possible to point out certain conclusions to which reasonable persons ought to come as a result of some of these suggestions.

First, the evils tolerated in employers do not justify the toleration of evils in the labor organizations. The fact that the Black List is resorted to by corporations does not give any ground for defending what is known as the Secondary Boycott. Industrial war will never be cured by legalizing one wrong as a reprisal for another. In this respect we think that Mr. Commons is wrong and the representatives of the employers, in registering their exception, are right.

Second, there is no doubt of the right of a government to set a limit upon inheritances. Inheritance is a privilege secured by government, and it can be curtailed by government. We do not believe, however, that the way to deal with the evils of large accumulations of wealth is by limiting inheritance to an arbitrarily determined sum. On the other hand, we believe it is clear that the taxation of inheritances is one of the best forms of taxation, and that it is within the function of government to levy that tax, not merely with a view to the raising of money for public purposes, but also for the purpose of securing in the interest of all the people a larger measure of justice in the distribution of wealth.

Third, the way to deal with these large industrial questions is not through a series of unrelated laws, but through the creation or enlargement of administrative power. In this respect we believe that Mr. Commons and his associates are nearer the truth in advocating the creation of a permanent Federal Industrial Commission than are Mr. Walsh and his associates in advocating a series of statutes and Constitutional amendments. On the other hand, there is danger in multiplying unnecessarily governmental commissions. Certainly the country as yet is not ready for the elaborately planned Industrial

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Commission which Mr. Commons and those who agree with him propose. The Outlook has urged that four great fields of activity be assigned to four National commissions—foreign trade to a Tariff Commission, domestic trade to a Federal Trade Commission, transportation to an Inter-State Commerce Commission, and National currency to a Currency Commission. Three of these commissions are already in existence, and the other one, the Tariff Commission, is being made the subject of a widespread campaign by an organization devoted to that subject. If industrial relations were assigned to a special body, it would mean the creation of a fifth great National Commission. We believe that the wiser course to pursue would be to enlarge the powers of the Federal Trade Commission so that it might include in its scope, not merely the relations of corporations to one another, but also their relation to employees and to the whole problem of labor. If this should prove too great a burden on a single commission, it would be comparatively easy to create a new commission later.

"THINKING WHITE" DOWN SOUTH

What do the best white people of the South to-day think of the Negro? What is their attitude toward Negro education? What is the real temper of the leaders in the New South? What do they think about Booker T. Washington's work for Tuskegee and the advancement of over ten million Negroes? The Rev. Dr. John E. White, of Atlanta, Georgia, a fearless exponent of "thinking white in the South," recently stated and frankly answered these incisive questions before several thousand Northern and Southern Negroes who had assembled in the Boston Symphony Hall, primarily to hear Dr. Washington deliver his presidential address to the sixteenth convention of the National Negro Business League. Dr. White said:

> The relation in the South between the races has never been so happy as it is now. Never has the outlook been so prosperous. The people of the South are "thinking white;" that is, the leaders are giving expression to the best sentiments. . . . The South is now looking upon its millions of Negroes, not as a liability, but as an asset. The South is training the Negro for success, for efficiency. The South sees that it is common sense to help the Negro. When the Negro owns something, then he is respected. . . .
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> White people down South think that the Negro is a man. They are saying this out loud. They are praying God to help them deal with the Negro on the basis of humanity. They think that the Negro is distinctively a Southern man. I predict that the time will never come when three-fourths of the Negroes of this country will not be found in the South. The civilization of the South, everything that makes it peculiar and characteristic, centers around the Negro. Indeed, the Negro has sweetened Southern life. Whole communities are shaped by the Negro. . . .
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> Property-owning Southern men do no lynching. Of the sixteen men who were arrested for rioting in Atlanta, for example, not one had his name on the county tax-books. . . .
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> The race problem is to be solved, not by having a few Negroes with education and culture reach the top, but by having the well-trained Negroes reach down and help up the ladder the black men and women who are below struggling.

Similar testimony was given at another League meeting by Dr. James Hardy Dillard, of Charlottesville, Virginia, a Southerner who is president of the Jeanes Fund and director of the Slater Fund, and a man who knows the South extremely well.

A score or more of Negro men and women told graphically the story of their success in business. Most of them had come from the South. In every case some good white friend had given the struggling Negro some helpful advice or financial support, usually both. The testimony, given under the rapid cross-fire of pointed questions, showed clearly that the South offers to-day, as it always has, opportunity for the Negro who is law-abiding, owns property, and meets his white neighbors at least half of the way.

At the Boston meeting the National Negro Insurance League held several business meetings and showed the hundreds of visitors, through the use of insurance reports, codes, and text-books, the importance of putting all Negro insurance on a sound financial basis. C. C. Spaulding, who for sixteen years has been connected with the North Carolina Mutual and Provident Association of Durham, is the president.

Emmett J. Scott outlined for the executive committee of the League the working plan of the National Negro Business Service, which has three purposes: (1) to help the Negro business men to greater efficiency through co-operative effort; (2) to bring

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about a spirit of mutual understanding and helpfulness between Negro business men and Negro publishers; (3) to help the Negro newspapers secure just recognition from the National advertisers.

The several affiliated National organizations of Negro retail merchants, real estate dealers, newspaper men and publishers, bankers, undertakers, and lawyers held meetings to discuss problems of common interest.

For fifteen years the National Negro Business League has placed the emphasis on doing something worth while rather than demanding anything on a color-line appeal.

A DISTINGUISHED ACTRESS RETIRES

Since every generation produces only too few players who take high rank as artists, lovers of the stage will receive with a keen sense of regret the announcement of the retirement from the theater of Miss Julia Marlowe, the distinguished actress who has contributed importantly to the American theater and to a larger appreciation of dramatic literature. Miss Marlowe, a portrait of whom appears on another page, has occupied an enviable position in our American theater.

Miss Marlowe is best known for her acting of the characters of Shakespeare. Her Viola, Rosalind, Juliet, and Lady Macbeth are memorable figures. In recent years she has appeared with her husband, Edward H. Sothern. Several seasons ago she attained artistic success with such plays as Percy MacKaye's "Jeanne d'Arc," Hauptmann's "The Sunken Bell," and Sudermann's "John the Baptist," in which she enacted the character of Salome.

Miss Marlowe made her theatrical début at the age of twelve, appearing in "Pinafore" in Cincinnati. She made her first appearance in New York in 1887 as Parthenia in "Ingomar." The following year she toured the country in the plays of Shakespeare. For a time Miss Marlowe identified herself with romantic plays, achieving large success in "Colinette," "Bonnie Prince Charlie," "When Knighthood Was in Flower," "Barbara Frietchie," and "The Cavalier."

DR. EHRLICH AND DR. FINLAY

On August 20 announcement was made of the death of two men whose life-work had a tremendous influence upon the development of modern medicine. One, Dr. Carlos J. Finlay, laid the foundations for those experiments in the etiology of yellow fever which ultimately cleansed our Southern ports of that dread disease and made the building of the Panama Canal a human possibility. In a paper published in 1881 Dr. Finlay set forth his theory that yellow fever was transmitted from one person to another solely by means of a mosquito. He experimented to test the truth of his theory, but was not successful in demonstrating this thesis because he used for the purpose of inoculation mosquitoes that had bitten yellow fever patients only from two to five days previous to his attempt to transmit the disease through their agency. The experiments of our American army surgeons after the Spanish War proved that the mosquito is harmless until twelve days or longer after having itself become infected. The series of experiments which resulted in the attainment of this knowledge forms one of the proudest chapters in American history.

The devotion and self-sacrifice of the men who volunteered for the dangerous service can never be forgotten. But perhaps "never" is too strong a word to use when we remember how long it took Congress to vote a tardy and inadequate pension to the wife of Dr. Lazear, who, as the tablet erected to his memory in Johns Hopkins Hospital reads, "With more than the courage and the devotion of a soldier . . . risked and lost his life to show how a fearful pestilence is communicated and how its ravages may be prevented."

Dr. Paul Ehrlich, who was born in Strehlen, Germany, in 1854, and died at Bad Homburg a week ago last Friday, was one of the foremost medical scientists in the world. He is most widely known for his discovery of salvarsan in 1910, a specific for the most dreaded of all blood diseases—syphilis. His great discovery was made after a series of 606 experiments, a fact which gave to his new drug its popular title of "606," in contradistinction to its less pronounceable scientific name of dioxydiamido-arseno-benzol.

Certainly if no other medical discovery than this of Ehrlich's had resulted from vivisection it would have more than justified the continuance of animal experimentation. When we add to such a discovery as that of "606" the tremendous advance that has been made in the control of such diseases as diphtheria, tetanus, rabies, cholera, bubonic plague,

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typhoid fever, epidemic meningitis, malaria, sleeping sickness, infantile paralysis, and many others, the marvel is that enough ignorance and prejudice remains in the world to serve as a "culture" for the bacillus of anti-vivisection.

A CITY IN THE HANDS OF A RECEIVER

Nashville, Tennessee, is in the hands of a receiver, or rather was for a few days, and therefore, so the argument runs, the commission form of government is a failure! In this manner the opponents of commission government for American cities are reasoning, while they overlook and defy the facts involved in the successful operation of the plan in four hundred and more other cities. One might as well charge the old form of government which Nashville had with murder, because the brilliant United States Senator Carmack was ruthlessly shot down in cold blood in the streets of that city a decade ago. The trouble lies not in the form of government, but in the people of the city who expected a form of government to do what only they themselves can do.

Some idea of the local situation in Nashville can be gathered from an incident which occurred at one of the hearings. The Mayor, who is also under fire, was on the witness-stand. The attorney for the citizens was about to examine him, but instead of doing so declared to the Court that he would not proceed unless he also was allowed to arm himself, as the Mayor was armed with two revolvers. His Honor was ordered to disarm himself, and the case proceeded. In the words of the Pittsburgh "Sun:" "The whole proceeding has been a series of thrills, and in none of them has the city officials appeared in a pleasing light. The appointment of a receiver will be something new in municipal management, but it seems the only thing that will take the city's money out of improper hands and place it where it will be properly accounted for."

The receiver was duly appointed, and three of the Commissioners, including the Mayor, were removed. Subsequently the receivership was vacated, and three new Commissioners were appointed to take the place of those who were removed.

The trouble dates back long before the adoption of the commission form. The discovery by the experts who audited the city's finances of the theft of eleven of the city cash books, covering the period of 1908 to 1912, was overshadowed when Comptroller Burns—under charges himself—filed with other citizens a bill in Chancery Court asking for a receivership to take charge of the affairs of the city. This was followed by the arrest of the City Treasurer, who was charged with the appropriation of $10,000 of municipal funds. The warrant was sworn out by the City Comptroller, who has been resisting the fight of all the other city officials arrayed against him. The arrest of the City Treasurer, similar action against the City Finance Commissioner, City Comptroller, and the disappearance of an Assistant City Treasurer will, it is thought, be followed by other arrests. Meanwhile petitions are being circulated for the immediate recall of the city commissioners by a recall committee composed of lawyers and business men.

Bondholders of Nashville securities to the amount of several millions are inquiring closely into city affairs because of the scandals that have been unearthed.

It is believed that if it had not been for the courage of the Comptroller, the conditions would not have been revealed—at least for some time to come. The end is not yet. In all fairness it should be said that the commission form brought out into the sunlight of publicity the evil conditions that had been festering in the body politic, and has given the voters a good opportunity to clean things up, and that is much more than happened under the old form.

DESTRUCTION BY STORM AND FLOOD

The storm which swept the Gulf of Mexico on August 16–17 was one of the worst ever known in the history of the Gulf. Galveston suffered most severely; scenes of some of the damage are shown in pictures on another page. The property damage in Galveston was greater even than in 1900. What the loss in life and buildings might have been were it not for the great sea wall built after the storm of 1900, it would be difficult to estimate. As it was, a breach was made in that great wall; buildings and crops estimated at the value of twenty-five million dollars were destroyed; fires resulting from storm conditions aided in the damage; several large steamers were driven ashore and even some distance inland; and there was a not inconsiderable loss of life—one estimate we have seen places the loss of life in Gal-

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veston and along the Gulf coast of Texas at five hundred. Nevertheless, Mayor Fisher, of Galveston, declared that "the sea wall has proved its efficiency, and Galveston, though staggered by the blow, is in good spirits. . . . The causeway will be rebuilt with little delay; . . . the approaches are damaged, but the concrete arches and supports are intact." Relief for the sufferers from the Galveston authorities, from the State Health Department, from the United States Army Headquarters, and from Houston was immediate and adequate.

Other parts of the country have also suffered severely from unusual storm conditions of late. The worst injury reported, apart from the vicinity of Galveston, was near St. Louis, where, on August 20, the heaviest rain ever recorded fell, with the result that the river overflowed and inundated some parts of the city and a large area in the country roundabout. In St. Louis more than two thousand persons were unable to get to their work, and business men went downtown in rowboats. Thousands of people were marooned in the country districts. The number of deaths was small, perhaps somewhere from ten to twenty.

IF NOT WAR, WHAT?

Americans do not want war with Germany. America is a peaceful country and wants to be on good terms with every nation.

But Germany has doubly affronted America. By giving orders to Americans as to how they shall travel, she has affronted American self-respect; and by her barbarous war on non-combatants she has affronted Americans' sense of humanity.

And now Germany, after receiving solemn protests from this Government, has torpedoed the Arabic and has sent more non-combatants to their death.

It is not enough that Germany should express "sympathy" for the loss of American lives on the Arabic. Germany expressed sympathy for the loss of American lives on the Lusitania and continued her practice of killing non-combatants, Americans included. It is not enough that Germany should declare that she has no "intention" of killing Americans. Germany's intentions are not to be judged by what the German Ambassador says, but by the necessary consequences of what Germany does. Germany's submarine warfare on merchant vessels inevitably results in the loss of American lives. That is ample proof of what Germany intends.

It is true that the German Government has asked for time in which to explain. It is also true that von Bethmann Hollweg, the German Chancellor, has intimated the possibility that the commander of the submarine that sank the Arabic "went beyond his instructions, in which case the Imperial Government would not hesitate to give such complete satisfaction to the United States as would conform to the friendly relations existing between both Governments." These are signs of promise, but only signs. Explanations, of course, are not what America wants. The only "complete satisfaction" would be that accompanied by guarantees. A government that has repudiated its pledged word as Germany has must be required, as an untrustworthy debtor would be, to give ample security to insure her abandonment of her nefarious method of submarine warfare.

Since Germany has not voluntarily abandoned this practice, and has not as yet given assurance that she will abandon the practice and make amends for what she has done, what means can America adopt to compel Germany to stop this practice?

How can we make our will and determination felt in Germany?

There are several ways in which we can do this without resort to war. We have heretofore outlined some of these ways. We here refer to but one other.

We can say to Germany that she can no longer count upon our financial resources. It is probable that the combined financial and economic strength of the Allies and of the United States is invincible. This strength consists of the accumulated wealth and the earning power of their population. If we deny Germany access to our resources, we should employ those resources elsewhere, and that would mean that we should put them largely, if not wholly, at the disposal of Germany's enemies. These enemies of Germany have undertaken enormous obligations. If the United States indorsed these obligations, the indorsement would give them increased currency and acceptability. In the last analysis, credit is the ability to borrow or to induce sellers to accept promises to pay rather than cash. The decision to uphold the obligations of the Allies would injure Germany's credit and increase the credit of Germany's ene-

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mies. It is true that Germany professes to be financially and economically self-contained, and it is true that Germany is in fact commercially isolated from nearly all the world; but she looks forward to establishing again her trade relations as soon as the war is over. If she is to continue as a nation she must establish these trade relations once more. She must get rid of her surplus product if that surplus product is to be of any value to her whatever. If a man produces a hundred bushels of potatoes or a hundred bushels of wheat more than he needs, and cannot sell the surplus, it profits him nothing. And this is as true of a nation as it is of a man. The moment a specific product of any country exceeds its power to consume that product, it has an excess product. It is through trade in such excess products that nations grow. For this reason the threat of a commercial or financial boycott that should necessarily be felt after the war is over as well as during its continuance, would have great terror for Germany if she believed it could be carried out. And even trade within Germany itself as well as between Germany and other countries would suffer if her credit were impaired. It would be practically impossible for Germany to continue fighting.

At present Germany is paying her own citizens for munitions and supplies for her army in a depreciated paper currency which is said to be already at a discount of about thirty per cent. If this discount continues to increase, the currency will soon become as valueless as the paper assignats of the French Revolution or the Confederate scrip, and even the power of the Government could not, in all probability, force the people to part with things of real value for valueless paper. There are economic laws that are superior even to the edict of the German Kaiser. In order to injure Germany's credit, therefore, it is not necessary to injure the German people directly. The Government's credit is generally exhausted long before the citizens, individually or collectively, are insolvent. The fact that America and England have access to the chief gold supplies of the world, while Germany has no gold mines within her borders, has some bearing on this situation. If Germany should part with the gold she has, and could get no more gold by trading with other countries, her credit would be gone. But, even apart from this, Germany would be greatly weakened by the exercise of such financial and economic pressure as America could put upon her without any resort to arms.

Is the United States willing that Germany's belief in the power of frightfulness, intimidation, brutality, and the sacrifice of everything to military necessity shall be justified? If not, let the United States answer in terms that Germany will heed. We believe that the use of financial and economic pressure is one of those ways. If so, it is a far better way than war.

WOLF, WOLF!

The cry of "Wolf, wolf!" has been heard so often of late years that nobody pays attention to it, and it has degenerated into a disagreeable form of vocal exercise. The latest and most offensive recent outcry is that which comes from some people in Georgia, who are shouting at the top of their voices that the indignant protests of the newspapers against the revolting crime of the mob which hanged Frank is the utterance of a press "subsidized" by money from Frank's friends. The charge is, of course, puerile, and might be ignored if the unanimity of the newspapers in denouncing the outbreak of savagery were not the one hopeful aspect of the National disgrace. The heat and vigor of that condemnation show that the Nation is sensitive to such an offense, and quick to resent it as a blow to its honor.

The German press and many so-called German-Americans have been quick to explain the sound and outspoken expression of American indignation at German crimes against humanity on land and sea as the utterance of a press subsidized by Great Britain. If these Germans had any knowledge of American opinion or any sense of humor, they would have been saved from this egregious blunder; twisting the lion's tail has been so long the habit of many American newspapers that nothing less than a great and passionate feeling of indignation could have broken the habit. Some newspapers have been and some probably still are venal; but it is unfortunate to waste the force of public opinion by making accusations so obviously preposterous that they fall to the ground by sheer weight of stupidity.

And the cry of "interests" has been heard so often that it no longer receives attention. A few years ago it meant something; there were real wolves, and the country needed the

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warning. There are still wolves prowling about, but they have been driven into the back country. The habit, however, of crying "Wolf, wolf!" has become so strong with some public men that it has taken the place of all other forms of speech. If a measure is strongly urged by one group, the cry that the "interests" are behind it immediately resounds from ocean to ocean; if it is vigorously opposed, the cry that the "interests" oppose it fills the air. If legislation fails of the beneficial results predicted by its sponsors, the failure is due, not to its unwisdom, but to the organization of the "interests" to defeat it. If one were to pay attention to the charges which too often take the place of facts or arguments, he would be driven to the conclusion that nothing is ever decided on its merits in this country and that there are no disinterested Americans.

This vicious habit of accusing the "interests" indiscriminately involves a waste of force which the country cannot afford. There are still corrupt or tyrannical "interests" which must be fought, but all "interests" are not evil in spirit and practice, and even the evil "interests" are not omnipresent. The cry of the "interests" has become the stock in trade of so many cheap politicians and self-seeking agitators that the country is fast coming to think of it as "a voice and nothing else," an easy substitute for brains and conviction. All charges against public men or organizations ought to react on the accusers unless the evidence is forthcoming. The air has become murky with accusations and denunciations; they have become a kind of hysteria.

CHINA: REPUBLIC OR MONARCHY?

On another page Mr. Suh Hu, a representative of Young China at Cornell University, gives his view concerning the possible transformation of the Chinese Republic into a monarchy. The article is interesting, first, because it shows what the individual Chinaman is thinking about. We know fairly well as to the external condition of affairs in China, but not so much of what the individual Chinaman thinks. Has he any ideas which would appeal to the American sense? For instance, what are his comments as to social morality? Does he appreciate what his country has already accomplished in eradicating the opium evil, or does he think this merely "bluff"? Educationally, what has he to say concerning Chinese general intelligence? Politically, does he have much idea of what it means to have a coherent and a united China, or is he still thinking in terms of his district or at best his province? Even so, does he feel that his district and his province must be effectively represented at the capital? This, of course, underlies any question as to whether the government at the capital is monarchical or republican. Again, does he think that a representative government should rest on universal suffrage, or a suffrage with educational or property qualifications? Finally, apart from the foreign-educated Chinese, is there in China any disinterested personal service to the state?

The present republic was brought into being chiefly through the influence of Sun Yat-sen, a clever Cantonese and a fine representative of the three southern provinces inhabited by intelligent and brave people not lacking in initiative. No matter what the government at Peking, it has not been beyond the bounds of possibility that the three southeastern provinces might at any time have set up for themselves. When the helplessness of the Manchu monarchy was fully and suddenly exposed, it was seen that the only well-organized politicians in China were the Cantonese. These were able to swerve enough troops from their allegiance to bring about the revolution which in 1912 resulted in the declaration that China, the oldest of monarchies, was now a republic.

To declare that the form of government is to be republican is a very different thing from establishing a republic. Sun Yat-sen, the first provisional President, was too much of an extremist to suit all China. So, with noble self-abnegation, he withdrew in favor of Yuan Shi-kai (his portrait appears on another page), who had for many years been the strongest political force in the Empire. Yuan was not a republican. He believed in a limited monarchy. But he is an ambitious man, and was willing to conduct a republican form of government. Like many another Oriental opportunist, however, his idea of republican leadership developed into a dictatorship.

Nevertheless the new government made a good start. It was apparently satisfactory to the great body of the people; it was ratified by them; it was friendly to foreigners and anxious to observe all the customs of international relations. It justly appealed to

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the liberal, large-minded sympathies of many friends in many lands. As soon as was proper it was recognized by the nations, although no foreign observers were blind to the difficulties in its course. They clearly saw that the republic was not strong enough.

Hence the news is not altogether surprising which now arrives in this country, that Yuan's foreign advisers, Dr. Morrison, formerly the well-known correspondent of the London "Times," and President Goodnow, of Johns Hopkins University, favor a constitutional, limited monarchy; and that an association has already been formed looking towards a monarchical propaganda.

It has always been evident that a republic, in our radical sense of that word, is hardly adapted to China's social system. Certainly it would seem foolish to expect stability and efficiency from any political institutions there which do not conform to the deep-rooted sentiments and traditions of the masses. Perhaps the founders of the present republic mistook superficial for fundamental phenomena, welcome indeed as they were as the signs of the times. For our age has seen no more striking event than the awakening of a quarter of the human family from old political ideals into modernism. The change certainly did not seem typical of those passive virtues which have distinguished a people whose most cherished possession has been their cult of ancestors, and who have found their most powerful cohesion in their sentiment of duty to the dead. Starting with this as a foundation, a patriarchal-monarchical system of government has seemed perfectly logical.

The question in China, then, during the past few years has been how to preserve continuity of ancient traditions and at the same time carry on a republic—in other words, how to maintain a strong government founded on popular rights. This was made especially difficult when many representatives of the Chinese people gave evidence that they could hardly be trusted with power to direct their government. They were brought to Peking, it is true, to constitute a parliament, but it seemed as if each one was working for himself—certainly for an unheard-of parliamentary power—and by so much hastening the downfall of the Republic.

To check this rapid decentralization there had to be a corresponding centralization, and this meant an increase of power in the Executive. Yuan acted accordingly. He felt that though the representatives in Peking of the provinces had been duly elected, the resultant parliament was not equal in wisdom to the old National Assembly established by the Manchus, in which half of the members were selected by the throne. Yuan felt that better men could be secured through appointment by the President than through election by the people. Accordingly, at the end of 1913, he actually expelled, on the grounds of treason, the opposition party, which had more than a third of the membership of Parliament, and before the end of the year there was talk of doing away with Parliament altogether!

Early in the following year Yuan took two other dictatorial steps; he abolished the district councils and he restored the old Confucian worship, he himself wearing the ceremonial robes hallowed by the custom of thousands of years, and taking the place of the Emperor as worshiper on behalf of the State.

The Outlook has more than once called attention to over-confidence with regard to the Chinese Republic. It gladly noted the fact that even China, though incrusted by inveterate prejudice, was becoming somewhat influenced by the world movement towards democracy, seen in the new powers obtained by the people in the English, German, and Portuguese parliaments, in the reinstituted parliament in Turkey, and in the establishment of a parliament in Persia and Russia. But The Outlook also called attention to the necessity of establishing only such a government as can be continually maintained. It is well to turn out an alien Manchu dynasty, for the Manchus are not cultured, whereas the Chinese have been and are becoming more and more cultured. It is certainly well to turn out a Manchu graft, as was shown by the Ministry of War under the Imperial Government, which included about six hundred employees, five hundred and fifty of whom, mostly Manchus, being parasites—for whose sake the Imperial Government probably primarily existed! It was also very well to want a more representative government, and the growing strength of the reformers was evident in such edicts as, at their instance, were issued by the late Empress Dowager. And it was certainly very well for the Chinese laborer to want a better chance and to think that the Imperial Government stood in his way. On the other hand, what could be done with the masses of ignorance in a huge population too vast to be

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permeated, until generations should pass by, with the enlightenment necessary to establish an enduring form of republican government?

Some of the best friends of representative government in China have always urged that a constitutional monarchy was a better form of government for it than the change to a republic, with its consequently greater instability, in the popular opinion, of the executive head and the danger, as now seen, of a dictatorship. The government must be neither weak nor despotic.

With the overthrow of the Manchus, there was no Chinese line from which to choose an emperor even if one had been wanted, and the Japanese intimation that a ruler might be chosen from one of the cadet branches of its own Imperial family was dismissed on the ground that China might become a Japanese appanage. Shall an Imperial successor now be chosen either by officials or by the people, or shall the throne be seized by some "man on horseback"? Yuan might fulfill each of these qualifications, for his power is felt by all the officials; he probably has the confidence of most of the people; and, if occasion presents, he would fulfill the rôle of the "man on horseback." His career has already strikingly paralleled Napoleon's. Both men enjoyed the loyalty of the troops and the confidence of foreigners in their ability and wisdom, while both men by a series of undoubted and astute successes intrenched themselves in the confidence of most of the people.

But the question in China is a larger one than that of a mere form of government. It is that of a new form of social morality. Whatever form of government can conduce to that end ought to be the government for China.

The future of China must represent not only political but social regeneration. The pigtails, the old pinched shoes, the parasols and banners must give way to parks, and sewers, and filtered water, and war on rats and mosquitoes. The Chinese death rate must decline from its present height of 50 a thousand to what it is in Japan, 20 a thousand. Moreover, the new China must restrict child labor, elevate the status of woman, and provide for compulsory education. It must establish modern judicial codes, and, above all, must stop graft. What the government and people of China have done with regard to the opium evil shows what the government and people can do with regard to other evils. The government must suit the people. But the people must rise to new standards. We believe that they are so advancing.

A CIVIC SERVANT

Behind the institution of good government there is some particular, persistent personal force. Such a force was that of Elgin R. L. Gould, whose premature death—he was only fifty-five years old—will be deplored by thousands whom he has helped. By his death New York City loses one of its most efficient citizens and the whole country an example of civic virtue.

In the first place, Dr. Gould was a notable type of the unselfish man. He was more than merely unselfish; he was intelligently unselfish. Like many other Johns Hopkins men, he represented the thoroughgoing training of that institution. He strengthened his cool detachment of judgment; he added a mastery of detail.

Then he entered his life-work, to help the needy by stimulating housing reform; he labored for this in the place where he might affect the largest number, the metropolis.

A noteworthy feature of Dr. Gould's endeavor was that he did not patronize. He met the needy suppliant as one business man might meet another—with sympathy, but with none of that exasperating higher-up accent. No Lord Bountiful distributing bounty!

If he did not patronize, neither did he pauperize. His philanthropy was of that self-respecting order which begets self-respect in the beneficiary. He created the City and Suburban Homes Company. He intended that it should not only help the poor but should be a good going concern—as it is. The first company, for instance, now has a capitalization of some six million dollars, all invested with the one aim to show that good dwellings for the poor are also financially profitable; the company pays an annual dividend of four per cent; in one of its group-structures no less than five thousand people live in comfortable, sanitary quarters, with steam heat, steam dryers, and roof gardens. On this subject he once said:

> You may ask me, "If people are getting four or five per cent by providing better homes for the people, where does philanthropy come in?" That is a pertinent question, and I think I ought to answer it. Philanthropy comes in in giving your clients twenty or twenty-five per

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cent better houses, better accommodation, than they can get in other good neighborhoods for the same money.

Dr. Gould was City Chamberlain under Mayor Low, and later Vice-Chairman of the City Charter Revision Commission. He was one of the promoters of the Citizens' Union and one of the leaders in the Fusion movement which wrested the city government from Tammany control.

Lord Bryce once remarked that the great blot on American civilization was the condition of our municipalities as compared with those of Germany, for instance. A few more men like Dr. Gould and such criticism may lose its force.

GOD IN HIS WORLD

The tragedy of the coming and going of Christ was that "he was in the world and the world knew him not." Prophets and poets had predicted his advent, a people had rested their hopes again and again on his presence with them; they had waited for him at times with bated breath. Then he came and lived among them, healed their sick, raised their dead, spoke to them as men had never spoken before, lived the ideal life before their eyes—and they killed him. They killed him because they never saw him; they expected him to be born in one condition, and he was born in another; they looked for the evidence of his divine mission in one form, and it was given again and again in another form. The trouble with them was that they were not really looking for him; they were looking for the confirmation of their own ideas of him. They were not really waiting for him; they were waiting for the fulfillment of their own expectations.

And to this day men have made the same blunder. God has been always present, and they have not seen him. They have prayed earnestly for his coming, and he has been beside them; they have cried out in agony for his presence, and he has stood beside them. Carlyle once passionately cried out that God should speak again as he had spoken through great souls and in great events in the earlier days—and God was speaking as clearly as he had ever spoken since time began. He was in the world, and the world knew him not; he was speaking, and the world did not know his voice. It had its preconceptions of the ways in which his presence would be shown, and it was looking, not for him, but for the fulfillment of its own expectations.

The faith of many men and women has been shaken if not destroyed by the awful devastation of the war. They feel that God cannot be present in a world in which such an appalling tragedy is possible.

What has happened has been the loss of the illusion that the world had become civilized, that the sense of justice and of brotherhood and the hatred of injustice and cruelty had become general over a large part of the earth. The higher education of man has not gone as far as many of us thought. God has not disappointed us, but humanity has grievously disappointed us. And yet, after all, humanity has not failed; it is a widespread idea of the progress of humanity which has vanished in the storm of war.

God's presence in the affairs of men was never more impressively evident, than in this terrible crisis. That presence is evident, not, as many seem to think, when the barns are full and the banks are reservoirs of wealth and comfort is widespread and ease of mind and body are shared throughout the world. These outward signs of prosperity are precious when they are the fruit of inward peace; they are the signs of disaster when they are purchased by compromise with low aims, by the sale of the soul for luxury and comfort. God's presence is shown when the foundations of false prosperity are broken up by flood and earthquake. Our comfort, ease, and physical content are not the immortal fruits which life bears; integrity, reverence, courage, willingness to serve and to sacrifice, are its immortal fruits. God is never so impressively present as when the world is driven back from false goals by fire and tempest. The supreme evidence of human love is shown when a man halts a friend on the road to spiritual disaster; though he inflict blinding pain in the process, he has given the last and noblest proof of love. Love is not indulgence; it does not seek to make life easy, to rob it of suffering; it is eager, at all costs, to give the loved one freedom of mind and spirit; to liberate through any severity of training the inward genius.

The presence of God in the world is not evidenced by any kind of outward prosperity; it is evidenced by the inability of the race to buy comfort and ease by the sale of its soul, by the breaking up of the most powerful combination to purchase prosperity at too

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high a price, by the apparent disasters which destroy great schemes at the very moment when they are to fill the treasury at the price of spiritual integrity and freedom.

Men have made great advances in many fields during the past two decades; many noble things have been done and many noble spirits have devoted themselves to the service of God and of their fellows. But there has been also throughout the world an immense increase of corrupting luxury and debilitating ease. Hosts of men and women have been bartering their souls for pleasure and ease. Art in many countries has lost that spirituality which is the very soul of beauty. Immorality has become respectable. In some countries the absorption of society in the work of the hands has been tragical in its intensity and its growing blindness to the beauty of life. The soul of the modern world has been in danger of becoming the slave of materialism; and in the end materialism is both brutal and savage.

And now with a tremendous shock men are brought face to face with their souls and with God. Materialism is dying on the battlefields of Europe. It may succeed for the moment, but it is doomed. "Unrighteousness often wins battles; it never wins campaigns," wrote a distinguished American the other day.

It is a time for faith, not for doubt. God is in his world and the soul of the world is alive again.

AN OPEN LETTER TO HENRY FORD

My Dear Mr. Ford:

The morning papers contain what purports to be an interview with you in which you apparently condemn all increase of the army, all renewing and modernizing of the navy, and all sale of arms and munitions to nations engaged in war; and you are said in this interview to charge those who are engaged in such manufacturing and sale with hypocrisy and with seeking to make money out of the slaughter of their fellow-men. Such a statement coming from one who is known throughout the world for his beneficent industrial enterprise and for his interest in his fellow-men will command, and ought to command, respect and consideration from his fellow-citizens. It is because I share in the admiration of your fellow-citizens for you that I venture upon this open letter.

I agree with you, and believe that the great body of the American people agree with you, in thinking that war is one of the great burdens of society and in desiring to abolish it. And I agree with you, and believe that the American people agree with you, in not wishing to enter into a ruinous competition to see which of the great nations can build up the greatest navy and organize the greatest army. This is no new conviction with me. It is not born of the present war. In 1895 I joined with a small but influential body of peace-loving citizens in the series of conferences initiated by Mr. A. K. Smiley to contrive some better method than war for the settlement of international difficulties. That was twenty years before the present international war, four years before the first Hague Conference was held, and twelve years before our then Secretary of State, Elihu Root, laid it as a chief duty upon the American delegation to the second Hague Conference to urge upon that Conference the organization of a Supreme Court of the Nations for the settlement of international controversies. The creation of such a court proposed to the Lake Mohonk Conference in 1895 was adopted by the Lake Mohonk Conference in 1896, and from the platform there adopted I venture to quote a few sentences:

> In the settlement of personal controversies civilization has substituted the appeal to law for the appeal to force. It is high time for a like substitution of law for war in the settlement of controversies between nations. Law establishes justice; war simply demonstrates power. Such a substitution of law for war requires a permanent tribunal to which all nations may appeal. . . . Disarmament of a nation *should follow* such recognition of and provision for the reign of reason over the passions of mankind.

Incidentally I may add that I was a member of the Business Committee and helped to draft the platform. I wish that you had had the privilege of being identified with this movement for international peace during the past twenty years, had participated in the study of this difficult problem, and had familiarized yourself with the views and discussions of moralists, reformers, and statesmen whose patriotism and love of peace

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no one can doubt; if you had, I believe that you would agree with me that national defense and international peace are not conflicting but agreeing policies, and that there is a better way of promoting universal peace than by ignoring the dangers of war and making no preparation against it. If you had taken part in this movement and reached this conclusion, I should defend your motives as I do defend the motives of those participants in this movement with whom I have been associated.

In the quotation above from the Lake Mohonk platform I have italicized the words "*should follow*," because the difference between the two peace policies before the country is precisely this: Shall disarmament precede or follow the organization of some better method than war to preserve a world order and secure a world peace?

Those who wish to abolish armies and navies and forbid the manufacture and sale of arms hope to establish peace by making it impossible to resist wrong. They apparently think that because non-resistance to an individual aggressor will often disarm the aggressor, non-resistance by a nation to wrongs threatening the citizens whom the nation is bound to protect will disarm the national aggressor. History does not justify this opinion. The Incas were a peaceable people. What warlike Spain did to them need not be here recited. The Jews in Russia and the Armenians in Turkey have offered no resistance to aggression. The result has been wholesale massacres. It may be that you are right in thinking that no nation would ever attempt to cross the sea to attack a defenseless America, though this seems to me a very dangerous assumption on which to base national action. But are we willing, and ought we to be willing, to leave American citizens in other lands unprotected, or to allow the whole ocean to become a war zone in which Americans can travel and American merchants can transport their goods only at the hazard of their property and their lives?

The other peace proposal, a law prohibiting American citizens from manufacturing and selling arms to other nations before other nations have agreed to adopt peaceable methods of adjusting international controversies, would not tend to peace but to war. The statement of this truth by Secretary Lansing seems to me incontrovertible. The adoption of this principle, he says, "would inevitably give the advantage to the belligerent which had encouraged the manufacture of munitions in time of peace, . . . would force militarism upon the world and work against that universal peace which is the desire and purpose of all nations which exalt justice and righteousness in their relations with one another."

It apparently seems to you that it is inhuman for any man to sell arms and ammunition to the Allies. I cannot agree with you. It is humane for us to send food and clothing to the plundered and impoverished Belgians. It is not less humane to send guns to the policemen who are trying to drive the plunderers out of the home they have devastated and to restore it again to its rightful owners. Nor is there any more reason to impugn the motives of those who are selling arms and ammunition to the policemen than to impugn the motives of those who are selling food and clothes for the use of the plundered people.

In brief: To permit warlike nations to prepare for war and to forbid peaceable nations to prepare against war, to permit warlike nations to accumulate great stores of arms and to forbid peaceable nations, in case of attack, to unite and co-operate in self-defense, would be, as a writer in The Outlook has well said, to "aid the wolf and hamstring the lamb."

The other method of securing international peace—provision for peaceable settlements of international controversies *first* and disarmament *afterward*—is sustained alike by philosophical and historical considerations. That plan, as it has been developed from the Lake Mohonk plan of 1895–96, may be stated here in a single sentence: It is that the peace-loving nations shall attempt the peaceable adjustment of all questions which may arise between them, and agree to unite their forces to defend any one of their number if it is attacked by an aggressor. This plan of securing international peace has three distinct advantages to commend it:

It would put a stop to the ruinous competition between civilized nations, each attempting to create a bigger military force than his neighbor. It would not be necessary for each nation to protect itself from aggression; it would be sufficient if it furnished a quota adequate for its share in world protection.

It would give notice to every aggressive nation that an attempted war of conquest would have leagued against it the military forces of the civilized world.

And it would pursue precisely that policy

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which civilized nations have pursued in protecting peaceable individuals from burglars, assassins, and mobs. The State is a combination of all peace-loving citizens in an agreement to give of their money in taxes and, if necessary, their personal services, to protect each individual in the community from wrong-doing. It is because we have combined to maintain an armed police that we do not have ourselves to go armed.

You and I have received from our fathers a land and liberties which it is our sacred duty to hand down to our children and our children's children unimpaired. In the light of past history and of recent events we have no right to guess that no nation will attempt to play the part of robber on our continent, and therefore that the lands and the liberties which have been intrusted to us will pass unimpaired to our descendants. This would be to gamble with the inheritance of our children.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

THE PRESIDENT'S MIND MADE UP

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM WASHINGTON

WHEN Germany made war on Russia, France, and Belgium, the German people were misinformed. They thought that the war was a war of self-defense, and only very gradually has the suspicion begun to spread among them that they were deceived by the bureaucrats of the *Kriegspartei*. But Germany is not a democracy. An essential of democratic government is that the people and their representatives in power shall understand each other; that there shall be no large secrets between them. This is especially important when a democracy is threatened by outside peril, as the United States is threatened to-day. In such a crisis safety depends on that unity which is based on sympathy and understanding between the people and their government.

Through the constant tension that has existed between the United States and Germany since the sinking of the Lusitania, President Wilson has pretty well understood the temper and wishes of the people of this country. In this he has been aided by frequent and unsolicited expressions of the many different shades of opinion that Americans have held in regard to the questions raised by Germany's method of waging war on the sea. But the people have not been so sure of the President. By nature he is a man who keeps his own counsel and makes his decisions alone. His aloofness and secretiveness have been intensified by the gravity of the problems before him. Furthermore, the President's words in the whole controversy that has arisen over the conduct of Germany's submarines have not always seemed to harmonize with the acts of the American Government.

The sinking of the Arabic makes more marked and lamentable than ever the country's ignorance of the President's intentions. Despatches from Washington are conflicting. Some have appeared to be "inspired," others are obviously mere guesses. But two questions arise and demand to be answered:

1. Is the President trying to find trouble, to avoid it, or is he trying to do right regardless of consequences?

2. Has the President made up his mind what course to follow if the facts in the Arabic case are what they appear to be as the issue of The Outlook containing this piece of correspondence goes to press?

After visiting Washington, talking with high Government officials and with several of the few newspaper correspondents who are favored with some degree of the confidence of the Administration, I am convinced:

(1) That the President abhors war, that he knows there is no sentiment in America for a war with Germany, but, regardless of consequences and whether the people are with him or not, he will follow the right as he sees it.

(2) That for several weeks, at least since the third note on the Lusitania was sent to Germany on July 21, the President has had firmly fixed in his mind the course to be followed in the event of a further infringement of "any essential or fundamental right" of Americans on the seas.

This course at the very least will include the recall of Ambassador Gerard and the prompt commencement on a large scale of measures of military preparedness—intended as a warning to Germany that we mean business.

There is no disposition to hurry Germany. The Imperial Government will be given

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ample time to state its understanding of the Arabic case and to introduce such evidence as it desires; but it can be said on very high authority that if the evidence in the case is sufficient to convince the Washington Administration that the Arabic was sunk without warning, that it was not trying to escape or to ram the submarine, the United States will not be satisfied with expressions of regret and sympathy from Germany. It will be satisfied only by the assurance that the submarine commander who sank the Arabic was not acting with the approval of the German Admiralty in so doing, and that such attacks on merchant vessels carrying Americans shall cease. Even if it were to be proved that there were no bona-fide American citizens among those who lost their lives on the Arabic, the American position will remain the same, for there were persons of unquestioned American citizenship aboard the vessel, and, according to the same high authority referred to above, this Government will stand firm for the position taken in the American note to Germany of June 9, which said:

"The lives of non-combatants cannot lawfully or rightfully be put in jeopardy by the capture or destruction of an unresisting merchantman."

The bulk of the American people have apparently not been aroused by the fate of the Arabic. After the sinking of the Lusitania the State Department was deluged with protests from Americans, but not more than a dozen telegrams were received calling for the avenging of the White Star liner. In spite of this apparent apathy the President is determined that the position that this country has taken for "the full enjoyment" by Americans of "their acknowledged rights on the high seas" shall be maintained "without compromise and at any cost." On that his jaws are set.

The President's psychology in this situation is characteristic of him. He can make up his mind quickly, and once made up it is hard to change. Moreover, it is principles that count with Mr. Wilson, not circumstances. His unflinching opposition to Huerta and his determined fight for the most important legislation that has been enacted during his administration, such as the Income Tax Law, the Tariff, the Currency legislation, etc., which he put through in the face of opposition from his own party, illustrate both his stubbornness and his devotion to the dictates of his conscience.

As a Washington correspondent, who knows the President well, said to me:

"When confronted with a decision the President looks first for an ideal to cling to, and when he finds that the circumstances make his ideal seem impracticable, instead of changing his ideal, as most men would, he tries to change the circumstances. For example, his ideal of a democratic and representative government of Mexicans for Mexicans seems to be impracticable in the light of circumstances, but he still cherishes the ideal, hoping that, while Villa won't do and Carranza won't seem to do, a real leader of the people will yet arrive."

Almost a paraphrase of this statement of the President's code is this excerpt from the note of July 21 to Germany:

"The rights of neutrals in time of war are based upon principle, not upon expediency, and the principles are immutable. It is the duty and obligation of belligerents to find a way to adapt the new circumstances to them."

The President's conviction that such a way could be found was strengthened by the case of the Leelenaw, in which the men of a German submarine boarded a steamer and removed her crew before sinking her. By this action Germany gave Mr. Wilson evidence that such unwarned attacks as those on the Lusitania and Arabic are not only illegal, but are uncalled for by military exigencies.

As affairs stand as this is written the danger is not that the Administration will recede one whit from the position it has taken in its notes to Germany, not that it will be satisfied with mere "expressions of regret." The danger is that, in the Administration's commendable willingness to hear Germany's side of the case, it will permit itself to be drawn into extended controversies as to the facts. This may happen if Germany claims that the Arabic was attended by an armed convoy, that it tried to escape, or that it tried to ram the submarine. But so strong is the testimony offered by the passengers and crew of the Arabic that the vessel did none of these things, that it would seem to be possible for the Administration to establish the facts of the case without adding much to the voluminous correspondence it has already had with Germany. And as to what our course should be, once the facts are established, the President's mind is made up.

GREGORY MASON.

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"TRAINED AND ACCUSTOMED TO ARMS"

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM PLATTSBURGH

A NEWSPAPER correspondent sat talking with Captain Dorey, Commander of the Business Men's Training Camp at Plattsburgh, concerning the one subject which is always nearest a reporter's heart—news. Leaning back in his chair, his hat shoved on the back of his head, he broached the subject in a manner which, had any reminder been needed, would have told the observer that the scene of this story is laid in "the good old U. S. A." and not in Zabern. "Say," he began, "when are you going to let us know about your permanent appointment of officers? That will make a good story. Everybody will want to know who were made sergeants and corporals. And let us have the news so that it will break for the morning papers. The evening papers don't count. Give us the list in the evening and we'll put the whole thing on the wire."

What the reporter said concerning the news value of the expected appointments may have been quite true. It may have been equally true that some of this news value depended on reaching the proper papers at the proper time. Yet something in this reporter's manner and in his request betrayed the fact that he was missing Plattsburgh's one "big story"—and some very important information concerning the same. There is but one big story in Plattsburgh. It is "breaking" all over the business men's encampment. It is "breaking" as accurately as a shrapnel shell over a hostile trench, not only in time for the morning papers, but for the evening papers and those hybrid journals marked "Four O'Clock Edition" which appear on the streets at noon. It is dependent neither upon the social nor the financial status of this regiment of men who have come here to learn at the feet of the regular army the facts concerning the military requirements of the United States. The "big story" can be summed up in one word—education. When once again these amateur soldiers are no longer privates, corporals, sergeants, even lieutenants, but ex-ambassadors, mayors, congressmen, police commissioners, lawyers, authors, publishers, and business men, their influence will then in part, of course, be measured by their position in the civilian world. Here at Plattsburgh they are soldiers, and the job they have set before themselves is the learning of lessons in the school of practical experience—lessons which the country at large has never effectively absorbed even from the mouths of hostile guns.

The business men's camp at Plattsburgh represents the most effective attempt that has yet been made by the Government to leaven the great mass of civilian ignorance with first-hand information concerning the physical impotence of the United States. It is effective because it is democratic, dramatic, timely, and possesses the conclusiveness of actuality. If a man believes, as some men, generically speaking, have believed, that a million men can be molded into an army between the rising and setting of the sun, no amount of persuasive quotations from Washington, Scott, Upton, or the pronouncements of the General Staff can make him think otherwise. If, however, a gun is put in this man's hands, a tent over his head, and a pack upon his back, the fallacy of his theory will become painfully self-evident. Only let him spend four weeks in training under canvas and he will appreciate not only the fact that he has learned much but also the fact that he has much still to learn. Of course the men who came here for the Plattsburgh camp did not come impelled by any such self-sufficient ideal of ignorance. They came because they wanted to find out the facts; they came with open minds; they came for information and service. The testimony of all those who have seen them at work is that they have lived up to the requirements of their purpose.

Here is a practical illustration of how these businessmen-soldiers are learning the truth concerning their sudden calling. The parade ground of the military post marks the position held by the United States army in the battle of Plattsburgh just over a hundred years ago. It is a long, level stretch of land bounded on two sides by those characteristic brick buildings which have rooted our regular army so firmly to strategic (politically speaking) positions throughout the country. Across this open stretch a company of businessmen-soldiers, under command of their instructors, was making an open order advance. It was the second week of their encampment, and most of them had acquired

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a comparative efficiency in the handling of their pieces and in the mechanics of military order. In column they looked much like finished soldiers; deployed on the skirmish line they presented a very businesslike appearance. It was the transition from one formation to another which spoke most loudly of what they had still to learn. Each rush found many men out of position. Squads detailed to protect the flank failed to cover the designated target. Single soldiers ordered to take such protection as was afforded by inequalities of the terrain instinctively seemed to assume postures guaranteed to assure them maximum exposure and minimum protection. After a charge somewhat awkwardly accomplished, the company again formed, arms were stacked, and then the soldiers grouped themselves about their commander for instruction and discussion. From questions as to the tactics of their recent operations the discussion developed into a series of eager questions as to the military history of the United States and the organization of our army. The all-important problem of a reserve came to the surface, as it must in any general discussion of the military situation of the United States. Something like the following general conversation ensued:

"Captain, how much of a reserve have we?"

"Some sixteen men."

"Our regular army is kept on a peace footing with the units at much less than full strength, isn't it, captain?"

"Within the United States, yes. Our regiments on foreign service are kept on a war basis." Just as the Captain finished speaking, a battalion of the Thirtieth United States Infantry marched smartly by. One could see the citizen soldiers looking with envious eyes upon the precision of their movements. The students knew that a few days before this same battalion had, under arms, marched thirty-four miles in a single day, a record not soon to be forgotten. They recognized in this battalion a double object-lesson.

In the first place, it was hardly larger than the full company in which they were enrolled.

In the second place, it represented a maximum of training and efficiency to which none of them had any hope of attaining before the end of their month in camp.

"Captain, if that battalion was called to war to-morrow, how could you fill it up with trained men?"

"The answer to that is that we couldn't. We should have to take in such trained soldiers as volunteered, but the bulk of the recruits would have to come from men less trained than yourselves."

"Yes, but that would destroy about half the immediate value of the training those soldiers had received, wouldn't it, captain?" And the question got no answer, for it had answered itself. It evidently came from a man who had a vision of himself enrolled in such a regiment of regulars. He knew how much he did not know of the work and duties of a soldier. There lies a vast gulf between that stage of information and the blissfulness of utter ignorance. Some day his question, asked in many forms and on many occasions, is going to build for the United States an adequate reserve, is going to force from Congress an economical organization of our military establishment, and a recognition of the fact that politics and military efficiency, in John Hay's poetic phrase, "don't gee."

The story outlined in this description of a single incident is a story which could be repeated in some form or other in regard to every feature of the Plattsburgh camp. Over on the rifle range men are learning the elemental relations between a gun and a target. Above the shore of Lake Champlain the two field guns in the camp, one borrowed from the militia of New York State and one from the militia of Vermont, are active centers of instruction and information concerning the situation of the United States in regard to a weapon which has played and is continuing to play so vital a part in the European war. The problems of coast defense, including the question of co-ordinating the mobile army with the permanent fortifications, the problems of ordnance, of commissary, of sanitation, each and every one have received such attention as could be given in the brief time at the disposal of the officers of instruction. And no instructors ever had a more earnest or a more willing body of students.

In all this discussion of the military training camp at Plattsburgh I have so far seemed to neglect what one would suppose would be the most obvious object and purpose of such a camp. A military training camp is, one would suppose, a training camp where citizen soldiers might become, in the President's phrase, "trained and accustomed to arms," and not for political economists and states-

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men. If so far the emphasis has been laid on a by-product rather than upon what would naturally be the main product of such a camp, it is because in this instance the by-product is of more immediate importance.

We do need a reserve. We do need officers for that reserve. But we need first of all an enlightened public opinion, strong enough to force even from a reluctant Congress full recognition of the military needs of our democracy and vital enough to make the reform permanent.

It must be a public opinion strong enough to overcome the political selfishness of particular communities whose interests are wrapped up in the fortune and maintenance of useless army posts and useless navy-yards.

It must be a public opinion strong enough to exact allegiance to the progressive policies of the General Staff and the enlightened leadership of Secretary Garrison.

Economics must be substituted for politics, science for selfishness, and logic for log-rolling.

It is in pursuit of this ideal that the men who have attended this camp at Plattsburgh will do their greatest service to the Nation. It must not be forgotten, however, that they have in no small measure prepared themselves for the ultimate service laid upon every male citizen by the Constitution. They will not leave this camp trained officers capable of commanding troops in battle, by a large margin. They will, however, leave this camp capable of valuable service to a democracy so unlearned as ours in the function of a soldier. Most of them should be able to put raw troops through the first stages of their training, teaching them the manual of arms, the mechanics of close and open formations, and something of the art of preserving life and health in the exigencies of a great campaign. The critics who show signs of wanting to scoff at the idea of making officers in a month are correct only if they can find any one who supposes that a finished officer can be turned out in that length of time. Such criticism comes from a misunderstanding of the purpose and object of the training camp for business men at Plattsburgh. Some of this criticism comes, perhaps, from an understandable fear lest these Plattsburgh recruits be given preference in the public estimation over the men who have served long and faithfully in the organized militia. They will not. The organized militia must of necessity always remain a vital part in the first line of national defense. Human nature being what it is, such a fear is understandable, but not justifiable. It is the opinion of many qualified observers that such training camps as the one at Plattsburgh will result, not to the detriment, but to the tremendous advantage of the organized militia. The enlightened public opinion which is destined to back the movement for the reorganization of the army will not be satisfied with anything less than adequate support for the National Guard. Perhaps we may even see what is the ambition of many militia officers, the federalization of all our citizen soldiers by Constitutional amendment.

HAROLD T. PULSIFER.

Plattsburgh, New York.

THE ARABIC HORROR

A POLL OF THE GERMAN AND AMERICAN PRESS

GERMANY

WITH one exception, the newspapers in Berlin did not comment upon the sinking of the White Star steamer Arabic off the Irish coast. What does this general silence mean?

Just as we go to press the following is telegraphed from the Hamburg "Nachrichten:" "It has not been proved that the vessel was struck by a torpedo, and it may have fallen victim to 'one of those bad English mines.'" Admitting that it may, nevertheless, have been a German undersea boat which destroyed the Arabic, the "Nachrichten" contends:

The U-boat acted rightly, and, even if American passengers on board sank with the steamer and some of them were drowned, then that serves again as a warning that no one should light-heartedly enter the war zone or go within range of weapons.

THE EXTREME GERMANS IN AMERICA

It would appear that German extremists in this country are found chiefly in the Middle West. As showing their views, three clippings from the so-called German-American press may be made. The first is from the Cincinnati "Freie Presse:"

The Arabic has carried an immense amount

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of war material. . . . If our Administration cannot be persuaded to stop the unlimited export of arms and ammunition, then Germany must protect herself.

The second is from the Detroit "Abendpost," and we italicize the concluding sentence:

The sinking of another British steamer, used for the transportation of material by the British authorities, had to be expected. . . . We are convinced that proper warning was issued before the sinking, otherwise the casualties would have been greater. *A new note of protest may be considered useless.*

The third is from the St. Paul "Volkszeitung:"

We cannot believe that President Wilson is ready to plunge this country into war for the sake of a few Americans who staked their lives to safeguard England's transport of ammunition.

MR. BRYAN

In apparent harmony with the above, the following appears in a statement about the Arabic from Mr. William J. Bryan, formerly Secretary of State:

The question just now is whether an American citizen should put his convenience or even his rights above his Nation's welfare. If American citizens refuse to consider their own safety, or the safety of the Nation, then a second question arises—namely, whether the Government should permit a few persons to drag the country into this unparalleled war?

That is to say, comments the New York "Sun," the question in Mr. Bryan's mind now is whether the American Government should not intervene to restrain American citizens in the exercise of their admitted rights on the neutral seas. And yet:

The Imperial German Government will not expect the Government of the United States to omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its *sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment.*

BRYAN.

The Mr. Bryan who signed the foregoing declaration of inalienable rights, as the "Sun" points out, is the same William J. Bryan "who is asking, three months and ten days later, whether the Government should not prevent American citizens from exercising those very rights!"

Every American who has thought about the matter at all has had in full view the costs and sacrifices of war, says the New York "Times" in commenting on what Mr. Bryan further says. "As a people we abhor war, for we know its frightful cost." The "Times" concludes:

But, unlike Mr. Bryan, most thinking Americans have taken grave account not only of the cost of war but of the loss accruing to the Nation should we resolve that, no matter what comes, we will not fight. . . .

It is characteristic that he [Mr. Bryan] should now put aside all considerations of the National dignity, standing, and reputation, that he should counsel cringing and avoidance, that he should throw the rights of our citizens and the pledges of our Government to the dogs, and that he should exhibit a sense of National pride on a level with that of China in its worst estate.

PRACTICAL UNANIMITY

But the views of the German-American papers we have quoted on the one hand, or of Mr. Bryan on the other, are not at all characteristic of American newspaper opinion in general. At no time in all the past of this Republic, as the Brooklyn "Citizen" asserts, has there been any such unanimity exhibited on any subject by the press as we find to-day on this question of the treatment of our citizens at sea. "On no other question, political, social, foreign or domestic, has it ever been possible to gain from the American press a support much, if any, in excess of the state of the general mind."

WHAT IS GERMANY'S MOTIVE?

A Minnesota paper, the St. Paul "Pioneer Press," affirms:

No one believes Germany means intentionally to affront the United States, but pursuance of her naval policy toward passenger ships, regardless of the fact that Americans may be among the sufferers, indicates to many that she cares little whether we are affronted or not.

On the other hand, perhaps Germany does mean to affront us. This for two reasons. The first we find in an article in the New York "Globe:"

German officials believe they can, if at war with us, sink practically every American ship that crosses the ocean. They figure that this will stop any chance of furnishing any supplies to the Allies, even if we did not decide to keep everything back for our own use. The Berlin Government is said to have a fleet of two hundred submarines with which to carry out her policy of war against American shipping, and they have full confidence in the result.

The second reason we find in a Knoxville "Sentinel" editorial:

It is conceded that the present would be a mighty favorable opportunity for Germany if

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she could negotiate terms of peace, instead of provoking additional hostilities, and intimations have been numerous, if of doubtful authority, that she has been throwing out tentative feelers for peace negotiations. . . . A breach with the United States might give her the needed excuse for gracefully inaugurating peace negotiations on the plea that her foes too far outnumber her to hope for a more successful issue of the war.

CONVOY

The sinking of the Arabic at first was supposed to have something to do with the matter of convoy. On this the Washington "Times" comments thus:

We are told that if the Arabic was under convoy when torpedoed she had no rights save those of a war-ship. That was logical enough once, when war was fought under rules that honorable men could accept. But what does it mean to-day?

It means that there must be no effort to protect women, children, babes, non-combatants, along with property, from the rage of unbridled hatred.

It means that life is no more than property; the demon of destruction will destroy one as quickly as the other.

If there are maniacs running our streets seeking to kill, and if a woman asks a policeman to escort her over the crossing—does that give the maniac license to kill?

This is the new question that concerns the use of convoys. Convoyed or not, a merchantman will be sunk with every life on board if the submarine murderer's aim is good enough. Must he be given that privilege?

THE LUSITANIA AND THE ARABIC

The principle involved in the sinking of the Arabic is the same as that which was involved in the Lusitania case. The New York "Tribune" and indeed virtually the whole American press conclude:

We do not know whether more American lives have been lost or not. But what difference can this make? If the would-be murderer misses, if his bullet goes astray, does society less certainly incarcerate him? It is not the fault of the German commander that every American on the Arabic was not drowned. All that the assassin could do was done. All that the butcher could do to make the massacre complete was done. If chance spared Americans, it was chance alone.

The time has come now to act. To talk further is to encourage, not avoid, murder. It is to compound with infamy.

THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY

"President Wilson has shown force and conservatism in his handling of German-American affairs," declares the St. Louis "Globe-Democrat."

Not so, protests the Burlington "Free Press." "If, after the sinking of the Lusitania, following repeated warnings from this Nation, President Wilson had either promptly broken diplomatic relations or called a conference of the neutral powers to deal with the situation instead of trying to act for the entire neutral world, we would not be in our present predicament."

On the other hand, as the Indianapolis "Star" and many other journals point out, President Wilson has never retracted his original contention in the first note to Germany, that the seas are free and that American lives must be respected. The Chattanooga "Times" concludes, therefore:

Unless later details shall place the affair in a different light, the relations between our Government and that of Germany have reached a climax from the consequences of which there is no possibility of retreat.

"It is worse than useless to continue discussion of submarine warfare with Berlin," exclaims the Salt Lake "Tribune." And for two reasons, explains the Charlotte "Observer:" "It is a waste of time and a squandering of dignity." Hence, according to the Butte "Miner:" "Diplomacy having failed to accomplish the desired end, the United States has no option left except to use harsher and stronger means to bring the Kaiser's Government to its senses."

BREAKING OFF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

Concerning these stronger means the Fargo "Courier-News" says:

Apparently nothing remains but for our Government to discontinue relations with the Imperial German Government; and if this is done it is certainly high time to stop the internal agitation carried on for the purpose of influencing public sentiment in the favor of a Government whose conduct is now declared by the highest authority to discriminate between that and being an enemy.

But this does not satisfy the Charleston "News and Courier." It says:

If Americans perished with the Arabic, it is clear that Germany has committed a deliberately unfriendly act against the United States, that Ambassador von Bernstorff should be handed his passports, and that Congress should be convened.

Nor does it satisfy ex-President Roosevelt, who says: "Germany will care nothing for the mere severance of diplomatic relations.

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The time for words on the part of this Nation has long passed."

CALMNESS

The conclusions of the American papers are thus well summarized in the Chicago "Post's" editorial opinion, which cautions against going to the other extreme:

The temper of the American spirit is under test. Crisis has followed crisis in this war, and each has been met with calm and deliberation. From the first protest that was provoked by the declaration of the German war zone last February down to this hour, the United States has held a clearly defined position, founded on international law and the consideration of humanity.

That position has been strengthened by restatement and emphasized by clearly worded warning. The American people understand and approve it. The world understands it. Any act committed by a foreign government that affects American citizens or American prestige is committed with full knowledge of our position. The terms upon which our friendship may be enjoyed have been defined; the conditions under which it becomes forfeit have been as clearly set forth.

The sinking of the Arabic precipitates no unforeseen situation. What we have said in the past was said in view of this possibility. It was said without haste. It expressed the carefully considered attitude of the American people, an attitude demanded by their sense of national honor and international obligation.

We are slow to add the deed to the word. We have been patient beyond what the world expected of us. It is perhaps as well. But patience must not degenerate into weakness; it must not become the expression of a flabby disinclination to pay the price of self-respect.

CHINA AND DEMOCRACY[1]

BY SUH HU

IT is quite unnecessary either to affirm or to deny the truth of the news from Peking that the project of proclaiming himself Emperor is being deliberately considered by President Yuan Shi-kai, and that Professor Frank Johnson Goodnow, President of Johns Hopkins University and Constitutional Adviser to the Chinese Government, has approved the project. Unnecessary it is, because neither its truth nor its falsehood affects the real question—namely, the question of the present status and future prospect of democracy in China.

Let us first consider what the effects would be if the report were true. Will the assumption of an Imperial title enhance Mr. Yuan's dictatorial powers, or will his refusal to call himself Emperor leave China more democratic? My answer is, No. For it is safe to say that under the present Constitution the President of the Chinese Republic has more power that any other ruler in the world, not excluding the Kaiser or the Czar. I make this statement advisedly. For under the present Constitution, in the making of which, we are told, Professor Goodnow has had no little influence, the President represents the nation, summons and dissolves the Li-fa-yuen, proposes legislation and presents budgets in the Li-fa-yuen, executes the law, issues ordinances equivalent to national laws, declares war, negotiates peace, appoints and dismisses civil and military officers, has power to pardon or commute penalties, is the Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, receives Ambassadors and Ministers, and makes treaties with foreign nations. What more can a monarchical title add to this long list of governmental powers?

What is more important is the length of the Presidential term of office and mode of election. The "Procedure of Presidential Election" passed by the Constitutional Convention last December contains these unique provisions:

1. The President shall hold office for a term of ten years, and is eligible for re-election.
2. Fifty members of the Council of State, and fifty members of the Li-fa-yuen, to be elected among themselves, shall constitute the Electoral College.
3. Preceding every Presidential election, the present President, representing the will of the people, shall nominate three men to be candidates to succeed himself.
4. *On the day of election* the President shall announce to the Electoral College the names of the three nominees.
5. Besides these three candidates *the Electoral College may also vote for the present President.*
6. If during the year of Presidential election the members of the Council of State deem it a political necessity to have the present President remain in office, they may make proposals to

[1] See an editorial on this subject on another page.—THE EDITORS.

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that effect by a two-thirds vote of that body. The proposal thus made shall be proclaimed to the whole nation by the President.

Thus, under this unique law, the Chinese President may remain in office for life. He alone is entitled to nominate his own successors, and that does not prevent the electors from re-electing him, nor is he legally precluded from nominating his own son or grandson. What more can the nominal change from "President" to "Emperor" bring to him?

Not only will this change bring no real increase of power or dignity to the occupant of the Presidential chair, but any such move will inevitably result in his ultimate ruin. Those of us who have had some experience with the working of the average mind realize that there is a great deal in a name. However dictatorial President Yuan has become, he has had common sense enough to avoid all "words" that may be objectionable to the vast younger generation who have long dreamed republican dreams without knowing exactly what republicanism means. He has even publicly declared his resolution never to aspire to the Imperial throne, and has banished several men who have attempted to advocate monarchism. If Mr. Yuan is really such a shrewd politician as his Western critics portray him to be, he ought to be able to see that his assumption of the Imperial title will immediately expose him to the utter distrust of the whole world and even to the most probable danger of assassination.

The question of a titular change, however, is of very little importance in the minds of the true republicans of China. The Chinese democracy, they realize, now exists only in name. For almost two years the country has had no parliament, no provincial legislatures, no district councils. There are no political parties, no freedom of press, no freedom of speech. Many a youth has been exiled or executed or assassinated for no other crime than that of holding a radical political philosophy. To be sure, there is a constitution, but a constitution that exalts the chief executive beyond the reach of the law, the parliament, and the people; a constitution which makes the presidency indefinitely long, practically self-elective, and almost hereditary![1] Under such circumstances, what difference will it make whether the "supreme" ruler be called "president" or "emperor"?

Whether or not Mr. Yuan will become Emperor does not affect the course of Young China (by which I do not mean any particular political faction), which is struggling hard for the establishment of a genuine democracy in China. Young China believes in democracy; it believes that *the only way to have democracy is to have democracy.* Government is an art, and as such it needs practice. I would never have been able to speak English had I never spoken it. The Anglo-Saxon people would never have had democracy had they never practiced democracy. This is a kind of political philosophy which is incomprehensible to men like Professor Goodnow. Professor Goodnow and many other well-meaning constitutional authorities think that the Oriental people are not fit for the democratic form of government *because they have never had it before.* On the contrary, Young China believes that it is precisely because China has not had democracy that she must now have democracy. It believes that if the First Chinese Republic had had a longer life democracy would have by this time established a fairly strong hold in China, and the political experience of four years' democratic government, however imperfect that experience might have been, would have by this time enabled a vast number of the Chinese people to understand what republicanism really means.

But, alas! the conservatives and the reactionaries have found hearty supporters in our foreign critics who have neither faith nor patience. They have found their spokesmen in such great constitutional authorities as Professors Ariga, of Japan, and Goodnow, of the American Republic. It is conceivable that Professor Ariga should oppose Young China. But when a great scholar from the American Republic came out with the declaration that the Oriental people were by history and tradition disqualified to have representative form of government, the blow was decisive and fatal. These great scholars have wrought their "authoritative" opinions into the new constitution of the Chinese Republic, and are now on the eve of being decorated by the Chinese Emperor whom they have helped to make.

[1] The Procedure of Presidential Election is a part of the Constitution.

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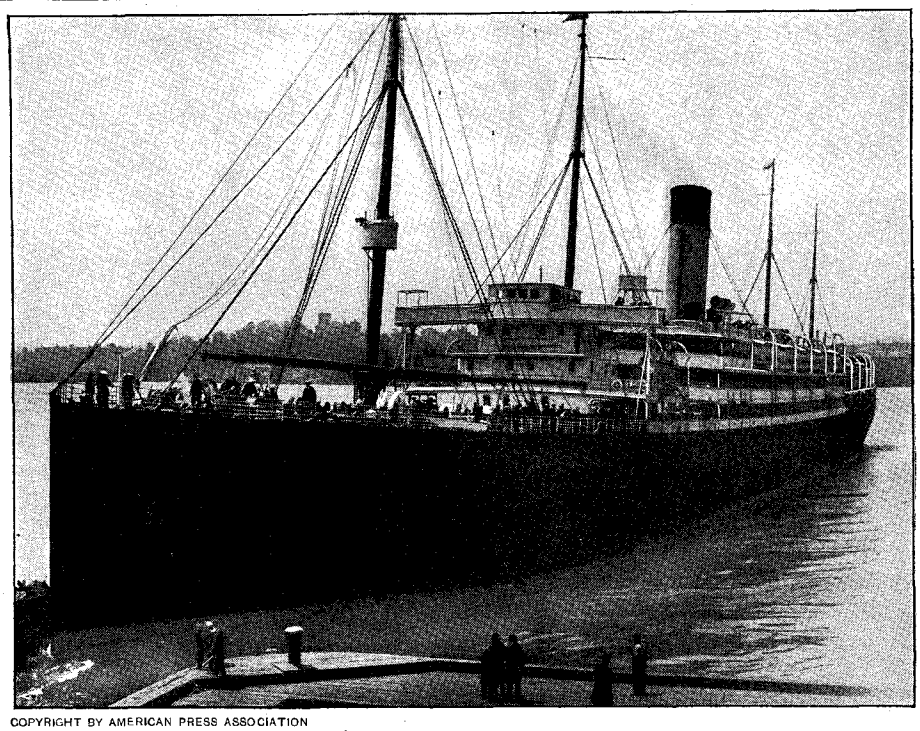
Current Events Pictorially Treated



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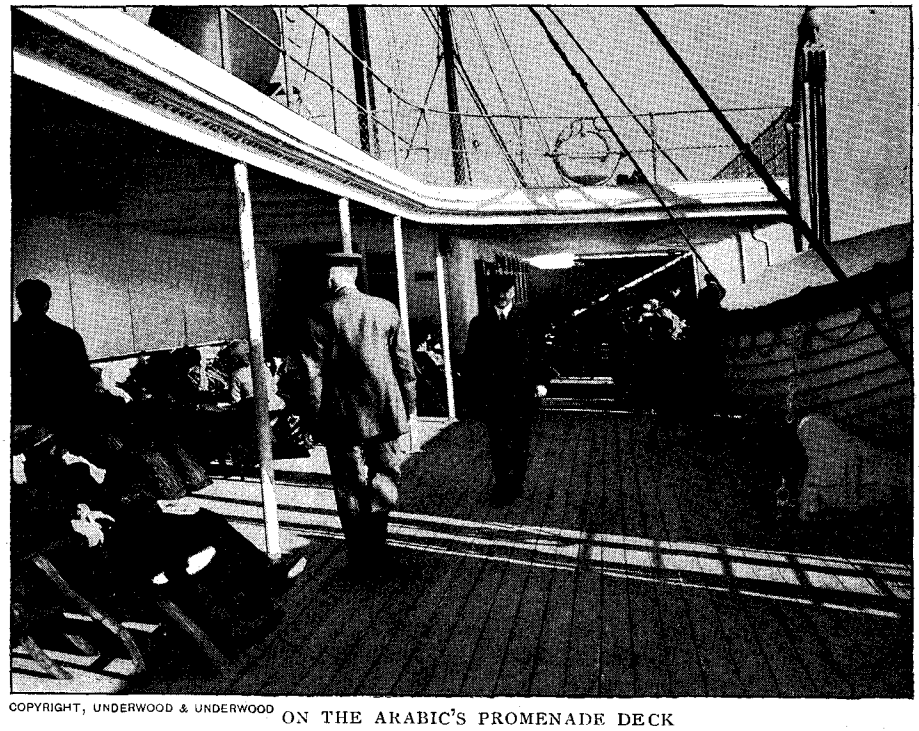
THE ARABIC'S LAST APPEARANCE IN AMERICA



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ON THE ARABIC'S PROMENADE DECK

A TRANSATLANTIC LINER NOW AT THE BOTTOM OF THE SEA

The peaceful character of this great ship, evinced in these photographs, makes of itself an eloquent appeal against the policy on the part of Germany that is sending vessels of this kind, with their passengers, to destruction without warning

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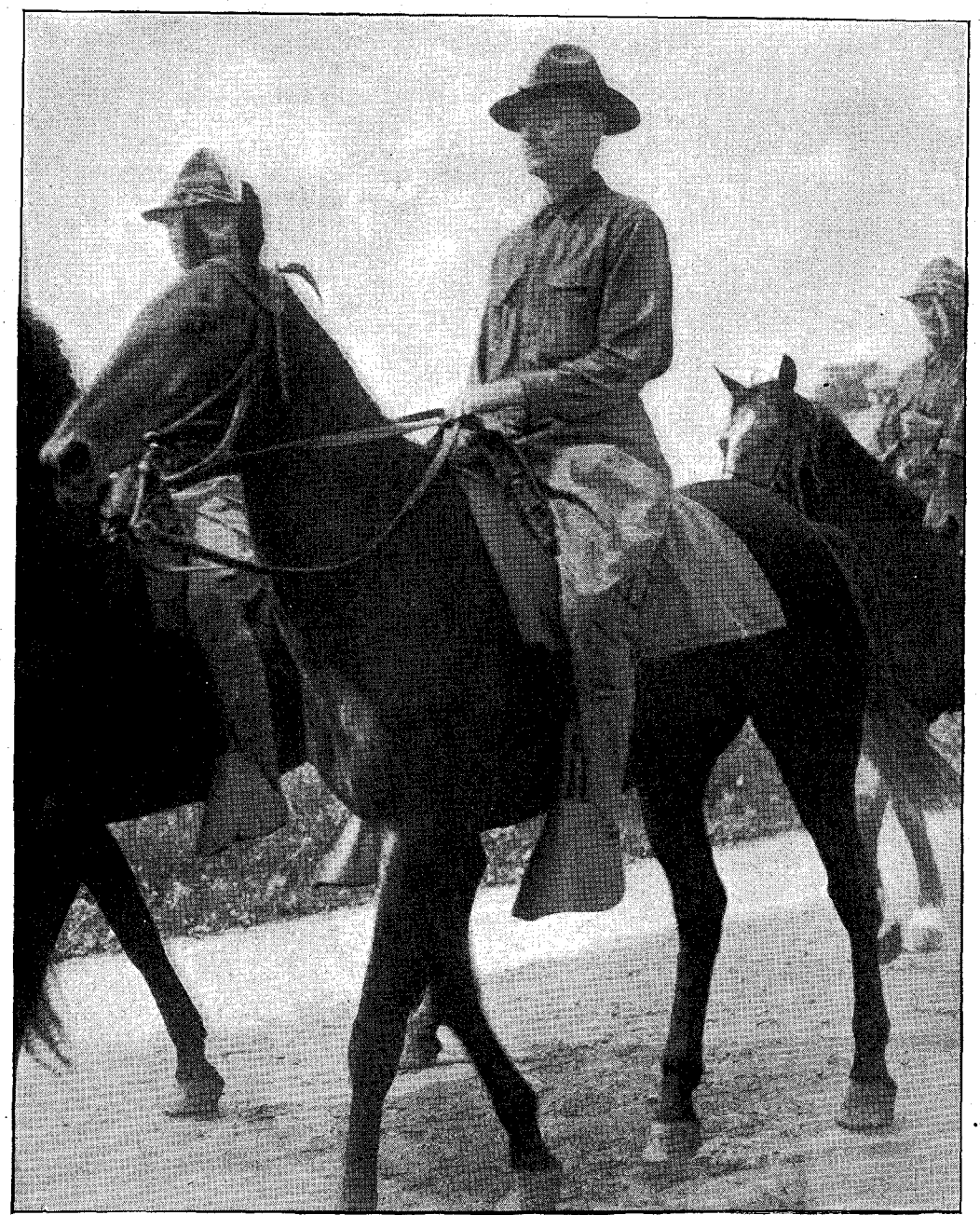

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JOHN PURROY MITCHEL, MAYOR OF NEW YORK

PROMINENT AMERICANS WHO HAVE BEEN PREPARING AT THE TRAINING

See editorial correspondence

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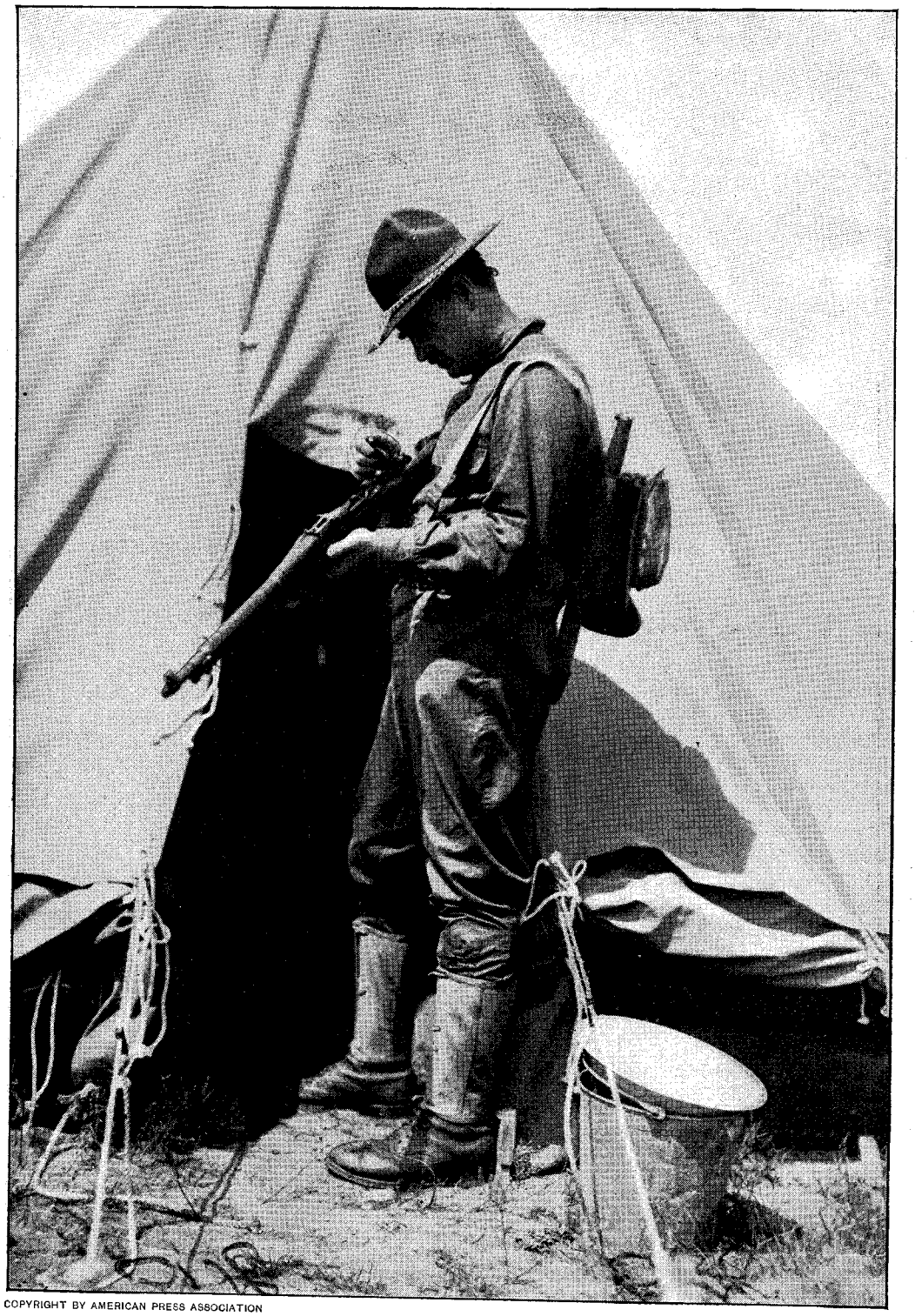

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ROBERT L. BACON, EX-AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE

CAMP AT PLATTSBURGH FOR A POSSIBLE "CALL TO THE COLORS"

in this issue

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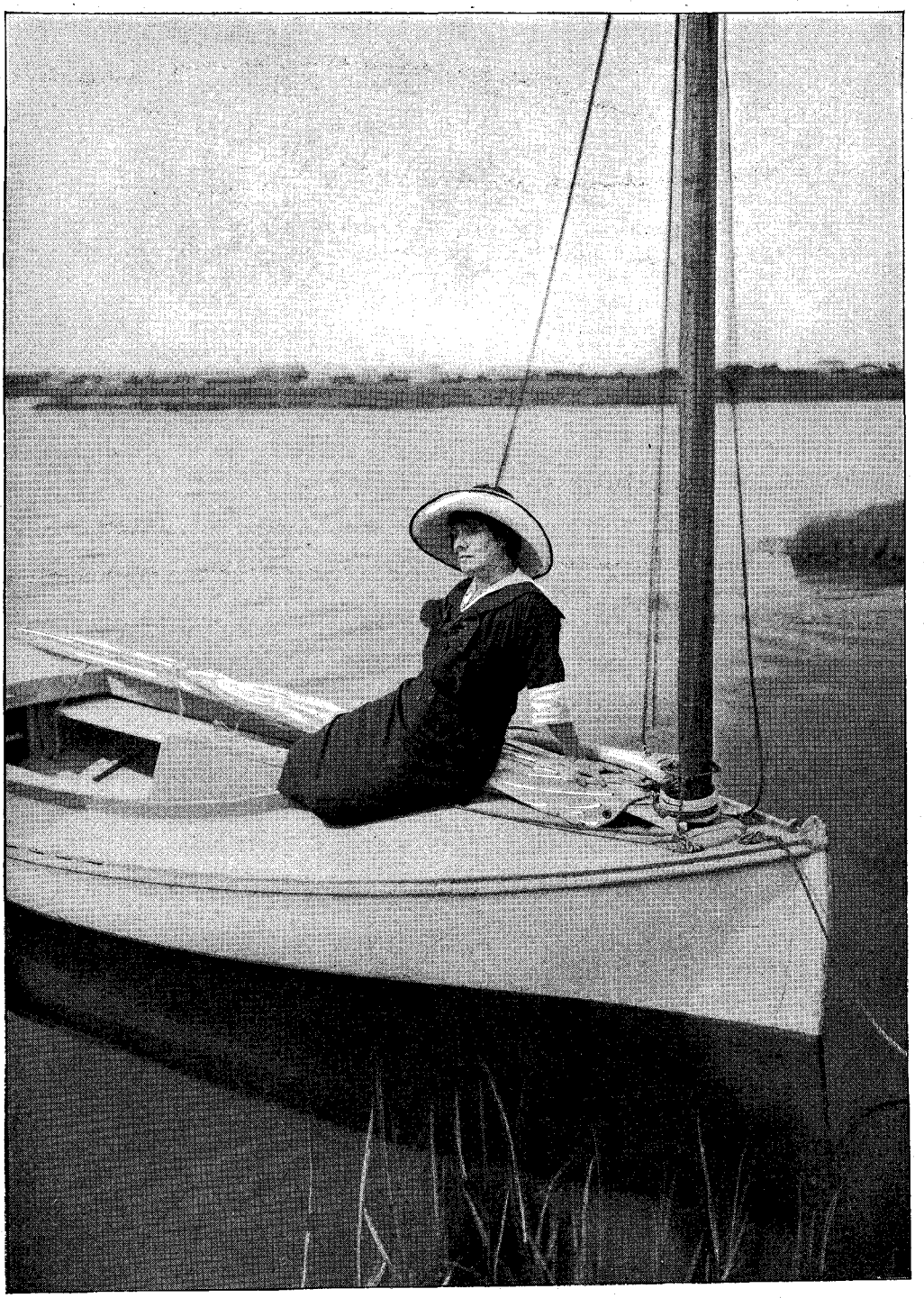

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A FAMOUS AMERICAN ACTRESS TO RETIRE FROM THE STAGE

Julia Marlowe, whose picture, taken at her summer home at West Hampton, Long Island, appears above, is one of the most popular of living actresses. She has become famous in many rôles, notably in her presentation of Shakespearean characters. Her husband, Mr. E. H. Sothern, with whom she has appeared in many plays, announces her permanent retirement from the stage. See editorial comment

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DOES YUAN SHI-KAI ASPIRE TO THE THRONE OF CHINA?

The President of China, a photograph of whom is reproduced above, is, it is reported, contemplating the assumption of the title "Emperor." See article in this issue and an editorial for a discussion of the subject

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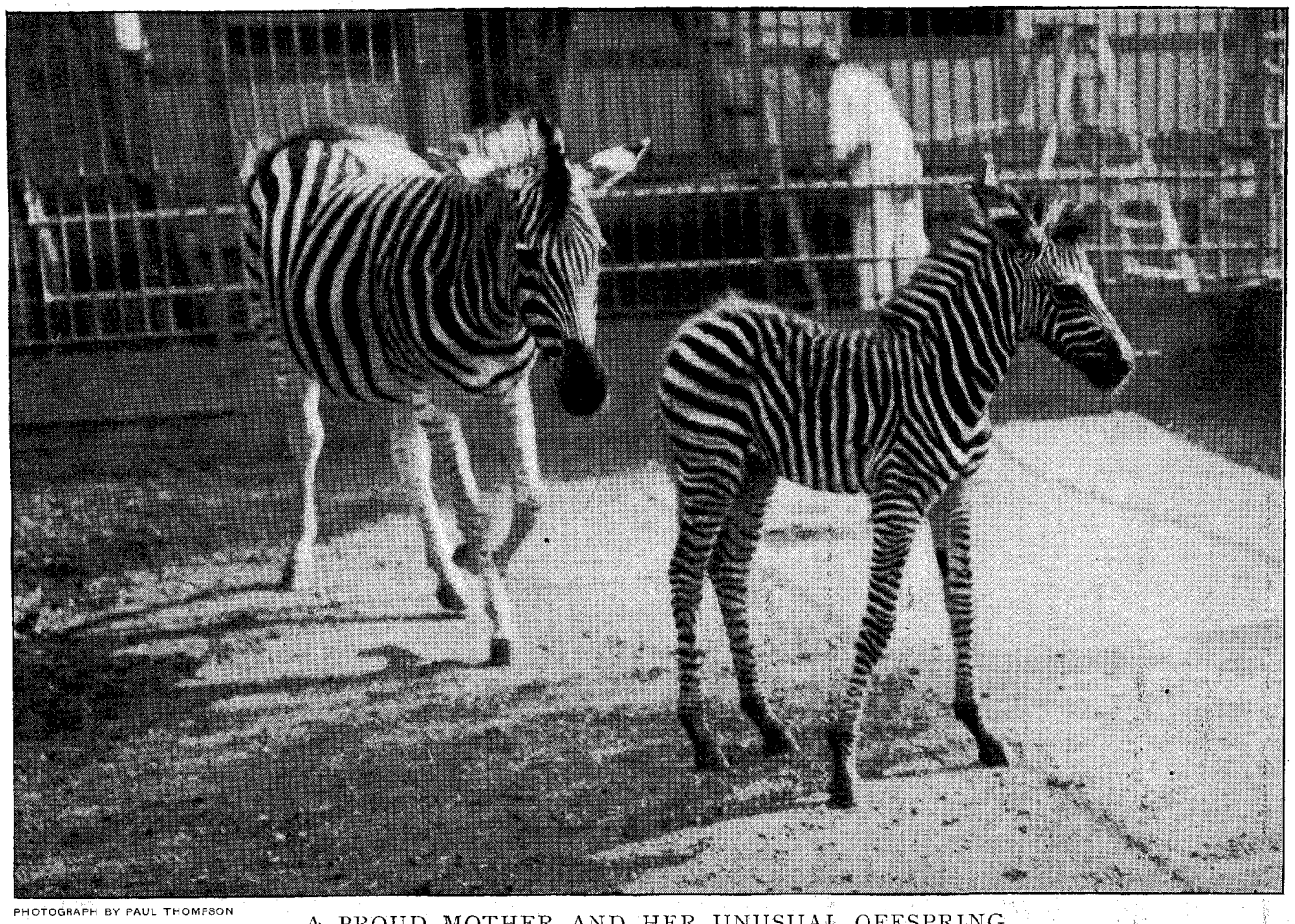

PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL THOMPSON

A PROUD MOTHER AND HER UNUSUAL OFFSPRING

Zebras are creatures of the desert and do not take kindly to captivity, rarely becoming tame and almost never breeding in alien lands. The little zebra pictured above (and he is not so very little, though only a week old) is said to be the first zebra ever born in captivity. His coming made a sensation at Central Park, New York City, and he and his watchful mother have been the recipients of a vast amount of attention from curious visitors

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DECORATING THE PRIZE-WINNERS AT THE NATIONAL EISTEDDFOD OF WALES

The Eisteddfod, which literally means "sitting" or "session," is a name given in Wales to the great annual assembly of bards and musicians which meets to compete for prizes in poetry and in vocal and instrumental music. The institution is of great antiquity, and attracts vast audiences. Local eisteddfods are held both in Wales and in the United States. In the words of one authority, the eisteddfod "has now become an institution of prime importance for the intellectual life of the Welsh people"

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RIPRAP FROM THE SEA WALL THROWN UP BY THE WAVES ALONG THE BOULEVARD

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DWELLING-HOUSES NEAR THE SEA WALL WRECKED BY THE STORM

GALVESTON SUFFERS AGAIN FROM A GREAT HURRICANE AND FLOOD

In 1900 Galveston was the scene of one of the greatest disasters in the country's history, nearly 6,000 persons perishing as a result of a great storm which inundated the city. A calamity of similar magnitude in the week beginning August 15 last was averted only by the great sea wall which was constructed after the former disaster. This wall, however, suffered serious damage in the recent hurricane. See comment on editorial pages

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THE RUSSIAN ARMY

BY A CONSCRIPTED GRADUATE OF A RUSSIAN UNIVERSITY WITH COMMENT BY GEORGE KENNAN

THE Russian army in point of size is colossal. By a recent Act of the Duma its strength, on a peace footing, has been fixed at 2,200,000 men, and in time of war this number is increased to 5,500,000. The strength of an army, however, is not necessarily commensurate with its size. Ten years ago, on the fields of Manchuria, our army was shot to pieces, and after a series of ignominious defeats was forced to surrender all along the line. As a result, Russia was compelled to sign the Treaty of Portsmouth, which amounted to a full confession of complete failure. Much has since been written about that war, and the reasons for our failure are now well known. We had wonderful soldiers—patient and hardened—who fought and died bravely; but our officers were good for nothing. The generals in command were uneducated, incompetent, and cowardly, while their subordinates, as a rule, were lacking in enthusiasm, understanding, and a sense of duty.

Since that time ten years have elapsed. Many things have changed in Russia, and among them the army; but has there been any improvement in the character and qualifications of the officers? In Manchuria the Commander-in-Chief was General Kuropatkin, who had won high honors in the Russo-Turkish war, who had been at one time War Minister, and who was generally popular among both officers and men. In the present struggle the Commander-in-Chief is the Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaievitch, who, outside of the army circle in Petrograd where he once held command, is little known and has no popularity. Between him and the army that he directs there are as yet no ties. The appointment of a member of the Royal family to supreme command is not enough, in itself, to weld the army into a compact and enthusiastic whole. The time has passed when the magic word "Czar" or "Grand Duke" was enough to incite the masses to heroic deeds.

As for the lesser generals, they are entirely incompetent. They lost the war with Japan through their blunders, and on the basis of my military experience I am bold enough to say that in the ten years which have since elapsed they have hardly improved. We no longer have such brilliant and talented generals as Suvorov, Kutuzoff, and Skobeleff—leaders who could weld the army into a strong and obedient machine, and at the same time love, understand, and respect the soldier. They are gone, and their places have not been filled.

As for the subordinate ranks—the commanders of regiments, battalions, and companies—they are little better. In such a war as that which is now raging the lower grades of officers necessarily play great rôles. Moments are not infrequent when the whole army falls apart, and when problems common to it as a whole are resolved into thousands of smaller ones, which must be dealt with by separate companies or battalions. The line of battle extends for many miles, and at every point of it larger or smaller groups are carrying on obstinate, incessant, and more or less independent fights. In such circumstances the soldiers naturally look to their company and regimental officers for understanding and direction; but the latter very often are ignorant of geography, cannot read maps, and do not even know where they are. In maneuvers in which I participated near Moscow in 1913 the disorder and disorganization of the whole army were perfectly apparent. The officers did not even know the lay of the land over which they led their troops. For example:

We met the "Twelfth" marching through the woods.

"Where are the enemy, Captain Neduziroff?" asked our commander.

"The devil only knows!"

"Where are you going?"

"God only knows! It is impossible to make out anything on this map."

"Have you any idea where the village of Dokutchayeffka is?"

"Dokutchayeffka? I believe it's on the right."

"We have been on the right; Dokutchayeffka is not there. I think it is on our immediate left. See here—"

Our commander unrolled a map, and with a serious air began to trace a route on it with his forefinger.

"There, you see, here are we, here is the road. We have just crossed it. Here is

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Dokutchayeffka. That means that it's on the left."

The captain of the Twelfth began to scratch his head thoughfully. Finally he said:

"Perhaps so. To hell with these maps! I never could understand them, even at school."

This was the way in which our companies solved their problems. It is not hard to imagine how our military commanders wandered around in Manchuria if, only twenty miles from Moscow, they could not make their way about, even with the aid of maps.

After the Japanese War a law was enacted which enlarged the corps of officers and raised the standard of practical and theoretical training. Under this law, which took effect only last year, candidates for admission to the corps of officers must have studied not less than six years in a gymnasium. Formerly those who had had four years of gymnasium work were accepted. They are now obliged to serve two years instead of one year as heretofore, and to pass an examination at the end of the first year, before attaining the lowest commissioned rank. Formerly a candidate had to serve only six weeks before receiving a commission. Theoretically, this law was expected not only to increase the numerical strength of the corps of officers but to raise its intellectual level. In practice, however, it has not so worked out, partly for the reason that the examinations are generally perfunctory and in many cases farcical. In order to pass the first examination (for the rank of soldier) the candidate is supposed to know the contents of an elementary booklet of seventy pages. On his second examination (for the rank of non-commissioned officer) he is expected to be familiar with a book of one hundred and fifty pages; and finally, on his third examination (for the rank of captain or *praporshchik*), he must have mastered a text-book of two hundred and fifty pages. The last of these examinations, which is conducted by the officers of a different regiment, is the only one that is at all rigid, and even that, for various reasons, is far from exacting. Men are often given commissions when they are totally ignorant of military science. Of the soldiers who served with me, seventy or eighty were made captains (*praporshchiks*), but ninety per cent of them were not fit to be intrusted with the command of one hundred men in battle. It should be noted, however, in fairness, that officers appointed from the ranks are often quite as capable as those who have completed their education in special military corps or schools. Ignorance of fundamental problems of tactics and strategy, unfamiliarity with geography and military history, and inability to read maps—all these are deficiencies that are common even among our older officers.

As for our soldiers, eighty per cent of them are absolutely illiterate; and in this respect the army, of course, merely reflects the state of public education in Russia generally. In the Manchurian campaign the illiterate Russian soldier was opposed by a Japanese who was comparatively well educated and intelligent, and who could read, without aid, the map with which he was furnished. In modern warfare moments often occur when even the private soldier must have some acquaintance with the problems that come, or may come, to his regiment for solution. One after another his officers are killed or wounded; and in the Manchurian campaign it frequently happened that all the Russian officers in a company or a battalion were put out of action, and the command devolved upon the common soldiers. While the Japanese private, with a perfect knowledge of the problems involved, could lead his comrades in battle if necessary, the Russian soldiers, deprived of their officers, became disorderly mobs, sowing with their dead bodies the line of their retreat.

If it be said that the German public school teacher, and not the German soldiers alone, won the Franco-Prussian War, it may also be said, with equal truth, that it was the lack of public school teachers, and not lack of courage in the Russian soldiers, that brought about the defeat in Manchuria. The Russian Government, in 1904–5, was in the habit of describing the war between Russia and Japan as a conflict between "cultured" Europe and "semi-barbarous" Asia. This legend was widely circulated and believed; but, as a matter of fact, the "semi-barbarous" Asiatics were literate and educated, and had a parliament, while education and popular representation had been withheld from the "cultured" Europeans by a despotic Government.

In their time, Russians were wonderful soldiers; but that was when military tactics were not as complicated as they are to-day, and when the soldiers trusted their officers. Now things are changed. During my period of service I witnessed two very important military innovations: first, the equipment of the

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army with telephones and telegraphs for field communication; and, second, the adoption of the sharp-pointed rifle projectile in place of the old blunt-nosed leaden bullet. The theory and practice of electrical communication are not, of course, very complicated or very difficult of comprehension. Any one who combines ordinary intelligence with a little acquired knowledge can master them in a few hours; but how can they be explained to an illiterate Russian peasant, who has spent his whole life in a village, and who implicitly believes that it is impossible for two persons to communicate with each other over any distance without the aid of evil spirits? The same is true of improved projectiles. Every soldier knows that when they were introduced, rifle sights were changed, retested, and so on; but if you ask him why this was done, and what is the advantage of the new bullet, he will be unable to answer. How can you make him understand the influence of air resistance upon the trajectory of a projectile, or any of the other scientific principles involved in the art of gunnery? He adopts the improvements because he is ordered to do so; but they are outside the realm of his understanding. For this reason they are likely to be of more use in the armies of other nations than in ours.

Finally, if the strength of an army is dependent upon the training and culture of its officers and men, it is still more dependent upon its faith in and respect for its leaders, and upon what may be called patriotic spirit. When the present war broke out, there was intense popular dissatisfaction with the existing state of things. In Petrograd, the very heart of Russia, 200,000 workmen were engaged in a political strike; barricades were erected in the streets, and machine guns were placed in the squares to repress disorder. What was likely to be the state of mind of reservists called from cities seething with discontent and hatred for the authorities, or from villages exasperated by land outrages and hunger?

The army, moreover, contains hundreds of thousands of so-called "aliens," including the Jews and the Poles. Of the Jews alone there are more than two hundred and fifty thousand. The Czar now calls them his "beloved" Jews; but only yesterday he persecuted them with mediæval cruelty. The Poles, who also compose a large part of the army, are now promised autonomy, upon the assumption that they will forget the years of Russia's rule in Poland, when passers-by were shot in the streets of Warsaw, and when the Polish language was proscribed and Polish culture destroyed. All is now promised to them, in the belief that they will forget in a moment the years of cruel torture they suffered when they relied upon the word of the Czar—a monarch who on the 30th of October, 1905, solemnly promised Russia both political freedom and a constitution, and then broke his promise and shed the blood of his liberty-loving people.

After serving a full term in the Russian army, I am unable to recognize its power. In these later days it seems to be succeeding,[1] but its apparent success is due rather to the incompetence of some of its enemies than to its own inherent strength. The heterogeneous and for the most part Slavic personnel of the Austrian army unfits it for energetic action, while the weakness of the Turkish forces, which consist for the most part of ill-trained reserves, is no less evident. The Germans alone are splendid, but for every German bayonet there are about four Russian ones. Therein lies the explanation of the unexpected manifestation of power where all has hitherto been weakness and demoralization.

COMMENT BY GEORGE KENNAN

IT is with great hesitation that I criticise an article written by an educated Russian who has served in the army of his country. He knows from real, personal experience what I know only from study and from observations made on certain battlefields in Manchuria. Without assuming, however, to speak with authority, and without questioning any of the author's facts, I may say, perhaps, that the article seems to me unduly pessimistic. That the Russian officers in Manchuria were generally inferior to the Japanese in education and professional training is unquestionably true. Everybody knew it, and an intelligent Russian soldier who was wounded, and who fell into his enemies' hands at Mukden, said afterward in a Red

[1] This article was written about the time when the Russian advance had reached the Carpathians and was threatening Hungary.

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Cross hospital: "If we Russians only had Japanese officers, we could beat the world!" Incompetent officers have always constituted the chief weakness of the Russian army. At the same time it must also be said that this weakness tends to disappear as a hard-fought campaign progresses. At the beginning of a war there are thousands of officers who have obtained their places through influence or favoritism rather than through merit; and thousands more who are too much given to pleasure and dissipation. As the fighting progresses, however, these incompetents are gradually weeded out. Some resign, some malinger and are dismissed, and some are killed. Their places are taken by bright, alert young men, who may not be professional soldiers—many of them are volunteers—but who come to the front because they show courage, coolness in action, fertility of resource, and natural capacity for command. The personnel of the corps of officers, therefore, steadily improves. That this was the case in General Kuropatkin's army there is no doubt. From the point of view of the Japanese—and they were good judges—that army never was more formidable than it was when it collected its energies again after the crushing defeat at Mukden. The Japanese General Staff refused to renew the attack upon it unless the War Department would reinforce Marshal Oyama's army with ten more divisions. This the War Department could not do for lack of rifles; and peace negotiations soon began, upon the initiative of the Japanese.

The author of the article seems to be doubtful whether Russia can ever produce again such generals as Suvorov, Kutuzoff, and Skobeleff; but I have more faith in latent Russian capacity. The material was not exhausted, nor was the mold broken, when Suvarov, Kutuzoff, and Skobeleff were created by Russian conditions and Russian needs. Whether the Grand Duke Nicholas shall prove to be a great leader or not, the great leader will come, and the Russian army, ten months hence, will be much more powerful than it is now. It has suffered more thus far from lack of rifles, artillery, and ammunition than from lack of brains. Only Germany was fully equipped for such a war as this.

That the Russian soldier is greatly hampered by his lack of culture is perfectly true, and the Russian Government is paying now, and will continue to pay, for its comparative indifference to popular education; but illiteracy is not stupidity, and in the great school of war the *muzhik* will learn fast. I know, or have known, hundreds of peasants—and Siberian peasants at that—to whom I would guarantee to teach the practical essentials of telegraphy, telephony, and gunnery in less than a week. It isn't brains that the Russian soldier lacks; it is knowledge, experience, personal initiative, and the habit of self-reliance which is the outcome of freedom. He has been taught too little and governed too much.

So far as the Poles, Jews, and revolutionists are concerned, I doubt whether their past grievances—terrible though they were—play as important a part in the present war as the author of the article seems to think they do. They have been atrociously ill-treated and persecuted; but, after all, their country is their country, and they will fight for it against an invader, regardless of past oppression. The Jews, certainly, have shown no lack of zeal or patriotism. Scores of them have received the cross of St. George for extraordinary gallantry in battle, and I have the names of five (Shliom Zelkovitch, Abraham Zelkovitch, Samuel Tabakof, Yankel Bershakovski, and Aaron Bruzel) who have been decorated with two crosses of St. George or more. The Zelkovitch brothers—Shliom and Abraham—have three each.

I do not care to make a prediction with regard to the future of the Russian army; but I have seen it fight, at the end of a long campaign, when it had not been cheered or encouraged by a single victory; and my conviction is that it can stand up under reverses as long, and rally from defeat as quickly, as any army that Prussia ever put into the field. If I were a friend of von Hindenburg, Mackensen, and the Kaiser, I think I should venture to give them this warning: "Don't count on smashing the Russian army so that it cannot recover. Like the Libyan wrestler, it draws strength from the ground every time it is thrown. You are now doing your level best; but the Russian army will not reach its maximum efficiency until next summer. Then you, with your waning strength, will have to fight harder than you have yet fought for the territory that you now hold."

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FREDERICK W. TAYLOR, REVOLUTIONIST

BY FRANK BARKLEY COPLEY

WHEN it became known that, on March 21, 1915, Frederick Winslow Taylor had died of pneumonia in a Philadelphia hospital, there was general recognition of the fact that there had passed from the world a man who had many of the elements of greatness. In announcing his death the newspapers duly chronicled the main facts about his career, and many of them have commented on these facts editorially. It seems to me, however, that the true significance of the career of the "founder of scientific management" and the "father of business efficiency" should be set forth, and this is an attempt to do that.

Upon reading of Mr. Taylor's death I received a shock such as one might experience upon hearing of the death of a near and dear friend. Yet my acquaintance with him was very slight. In July, 1912, when investigating for a popular magazine the practical workings of his system of management, I had had two long talks with him—that was all. Moreover, during these talks he did not reveal himself to be the possessor of a nature that ordinarily would be called lovable. He was then having a bitter controversy with various labor leaders over the installation of his system of shop management in such Government institutions as the Watertown (Massachusetts) Arsenal, and, as I remember it, the language he used in referring to these labor leaders was forceful rather than elegant. Indeed, it is revealing no secret to say that "Fred" Taylor's language could on occasions give you a most vivid impression of the places where, amidst ponderous, thundering machinery and flaming furnaces, men sweat as they toil. Approaching sixty, he himself regretted that the language of the mill had become with him so ingrained a habit that whenever he was the least excited out it would streak. Called to account for this by the committee of Congress before which he was testifying, he said, apologetically: "I fear, gentlemen, that my early education was much neglected."

It goes without saying, however, that a man of his intellect could never be downright coarse or vulgar. Though some people may have difficulty in seeing how that could be, we have every reason to believe that, if occasionally a profane man, he was at all times a very reverent man. Let it also be made plain that if it was written on him that he had been through the mill—had begun as a humble apprentice in a machine shop and had retired as the chief engineer of a great steel works—there at the same time unmistakably appeared in him the gentleman and the scholar. Yes, there was the man of gentle birth—the man whose father came of an old Pennsylvania Quaker family, and whose mother, Emily Winslow, a prominent anti-slavery agitator, came of an old New England Puritan family. And there again was the scholarly engineer whose amazingly profound studies in the art of cutting metals had brought him many honors from scientific societies here and abroad, and had led to his invention of a new process of treating high-speed tools which enabled him to retire before sixty a millionaire.

When I saw him that July, three years ago, he was living in a pleasant house situated directly on the shore of Cape Cod Bay, only a mile or two from Plymouth Rock. I believe it was the home of his wife's family, Mrs. Taylor through her father being a descendant of the Spooners who came over on the Mayflower.

Mr. Taylor undoubtedly had a large circle of warm and admiring friends, and as I continued on my travels I here and there encountered one. Nevertheless, it is the fact that most of the men with whom I talked about Fred Taylor and his work either spoke of him personally with significant reserve or denounced him with a bitterness which sometimes was really remarkable in its intensity. Indeed, the secretary of one prominent engineering society appeared to have so much difficulty in expressing his venom that I was alarmed to think that at any moment he might fall from his chair in a fit. Well, when I left Mr. Taylor the first morning, it was with an impression of him that enabled me more or less to discount this later experience. Assuming that he had any desire to do so, Mr. Taylor had very poor success in

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concealing from me the fact that the only earthly interest he had in my existence as a human being lay in such ability as I might have as a magazine writer to influence public opinion on behalf of his system of shop management. The ego in his cosmos seemed to be exceptionally vigorous, and there were frequent flashes of a nature not only pugnacious but domineering and imperious. At the same time he did not give you an impression of anything absolutely rigid; you felt that where he could not drive he could easily bend to persuasion, and, as a matter of fact, the shrewdness with which he went about getting at my state of mind and anticipating the objections I would hear raised to his system was quite obvious.

No; his was not a nature that ordinarily would be called lovable. Yet after my second morning's talk with him I think my heart went out to this man completely. I am sure he was the kind of a man Carlyle would have loved. That there was no nonsense about him will appear from the fact that, despite his conspicuous scientific attainments and the handsome fortune he accumulated, he was widely known simply as Fred Taylor.

Certainly his freedom from the hypocrisy and cant of labor's professional coddlers was as refreshing as a morning bath. He spoke of a workman as he would of any other human being—that is, as a person who was to be respected only when he didn't whine and wail for graft, but was willing to stand on his own feet and earn his own money. A workman, he said, was as easily spoiled by easy money as any one else; and, just as when managing men he always had fought against their being underpaid, so he always had taken precious good pains to see that no man was overpaid. It was his opinion that, whatever department of society should take care of defectives, that duty did not rest with industry. He made no bones of the fact that, considering him simply *as* a workman, he didn't care a hoot what became of a workman after he left the factory at night, so long as he was able to show up the next morning in fit condition for a hard day's toil. As a means of solving the labor problem, Fred Taylor thought that welfare work was a joke. It was his idea that what the workman primarily wanted from the boss was a chance to earn all the money possible, and that so long as the workman felt he wasn't getting enough money, he would be just about as grateful to the boss for interest displayed in the safety and health of his body, or the condition of his immortal soul, as a starving man would be to you for handing him a bunch of violets or a tract.

On the other hand, Fred Taylor considered that, working in their usual manner, workers as a class were getting every cent to which they were entitled, and in many of the cases where wages had been forced up by labor unions a great deal more. He thought it would stand as a general rule that, wherever a group of workers succeeded in getting an increase of wages without increasing their production, it was mainly at the expense of other workers, since workers form a body of purchasers larger than all other classes combined, and all increases of wages without compensating increase of output must necessarily be added to the price of the goods. If we assumed that all workers could get their wages increased simultaneously while continuing to work as before, why, then, the increase would be nominal only, since the purchasing power of the money they got would be proportionately reduced. Thus Fred Taylor came into violent collision with the labor leaders, committed as these men are to the theory that there is just so much work in the world, and that therefore any man who does more work than he has to do is a traitor to his fellows.

So far Mr. Taylor had done little else but whack the labor people; but now he proceeded to go for the people to be found on the other side of the argument. It was his belief—nay, his gospel—that the true solution of the labor problem lay in making it possible for workers to get more money by *earning* more. How could this be made possible? Only by bringing scientifically trained intelligence to bear on all industrial operations and methods, so that the existing tremendous amount of waste effort might be checked. Obviously the workers themselves were in no position to do this. Thus the obligation clearly rested upon the management to draw upon all the resources of organized knowledge, and, placing this at the disposal of the workers, voluntarily and cheerfully pay them the increased wages they thereby were able to earn. And it was to enable the management to discharge this obligation, and thereby establish between itself and its workers a whole-hearted co-operation, that his system of management was designed.

And here Mr. Taylor wished to make it

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plain that the main difficulties he had encountered and was encountering in getting his system of management installed lay, not in the attitude of workers as a class, but in the attitude of employers as a class. The average worker he always had found to be a very reasonable human being. What mainly made the labor problem difficult of solution was the accursed myopic greed of those who commonly were found on the side of the management—the myopic greed that, for example, made its victim certain that, if he paid any higher wages than commonly were paid in his locality, he, regardless of what he received in return, was being robbed. Therefore the indispensable prerequisite for bringing in an era of industrial peace was a radical change of heart on the part of employers as a class. He, Fred Taylor, could not make this too emphatic. Over and over again he said that employers must undergo a change of heart like unto that of a religious conversion. They must abandon once and for all the idea that human beings can be regarded in the same light as machines. So long as workers were herded into gangs and treated as machines for grinding out dividends, so long must they combine to fight. All the evils of unionism employers had brought down on their own heads. If he, Fred Taylor, were still a workman, and was treated as workmen commonly are treated, he too would try to get back at the boss with every weapon upon which he could lay his hands.

No; if employers as a class had an advantage over workers as a class, that did not confer on the employer any right to exploit his workers; it put squarely upon his shoulders the obligation to serve them. And, said Mr. Taylor, the recognition of this clear principle could come only as the employer started in by wishing his workers well, by entertaining for them such kindly, brotherly feelings as would enable him to view their prosperity much as he might view his own. Experience had taught him, Fred Taylor, that in the absence of this brotherly feeling on the part of the management his *system* of management would not work. This whole system, he explained, was based on the supposition that the workers would maintain day after day, year in and year out, the standards scientifically fixed for them, and they could be induced to do this only as it was made immediately and continuously profitable for them to do it. You might be able to drive men into working hard, but it was impossible to drive them into working efficiently. And neither could they be tricked into working efficiently for any length of time. Efficient work must have its origin within the worker himself. Thus always and forever it must be true that efficient work can be obtained from men only with their own consent, only as you permanently enlist their good will. When, however, the management did not entertain for the workers such feelings that it would take pleasure in witnessing their prosperity, it was only too likely to try, sooner or later, to cut down on their increased earnings or otherwise take advantage of them, and so the whole system of scientific management would go to smash. So deeply convinced was he, Fred Taylor, of this, that unless assured that all those connected with the management had this kindly, brotherly feeling to begin with, he never, so far as he was able, would permit his system anywhere to be installed.

Here, then, after the lapse of nearly three years, is the best I can do in sketching what Mr. Taylor told me that July morning while I sat occasionally looking out over the placid bay into which, in the glorious year of our Lord 1620, had sailed the Pilgrim Fathers. Before I arrived in Plymouth I knew in a general way that this man's system of shop management was the outcome of about thirty years of such patient, painstaking, laborious, and minute investigation as was the marvel of all who were in a position to appreciate it. Something of his genius as an investigator will be understood when it is explained that he found the art of cutting metals practically where it was in primitive times, and left it so transformed that a cutting tool is now able to do three times its former work and the capacity of nearly every machine tool has been increased proportionately. From such a man as Henry R. Towne, President of the Yale & Towne Manufacturing Company, we have the testimony that, under the "magic influence" of Frederick W. Taylor's genius, the art of cutting metals, which underlies all the metal industries, "made a greater advance than during the previous ages since the days of Tubal Cain." Much of this I understood in a general way before going to Plymouth; but now came to me the clear recognition of the fact that this man was no mere tinker of business systems, no unctuous mouther of cant terms like efficiency; that here, sitting within the shadow of Plymouth Rock, so to speak, and anxiously

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doing his best to make me realize what it was all about, so that occasionally under the strain he would give vent to a stream of picturesque "cuss" words—that here was not only a great pioneer and discoverer in the world of industry, but a man whose heart was aflame with missionary zeal, a man who was an industrial *revolutionist*.

To doubt his zeal was impossible. If you want the proof, it lies in the fact that since his retirement from active work he had been drawing on his fortune to round up likely young men fresh from the technical schools and have them trained to install the system of which he was the father. As I have said, my heart went out to him completely. I could see now that, if he feared neither man nor devil and was domineering and imperious, he was not arrogant or arbitrary. He did not want you to bow down to *him*; he simply thought it behooves every man to make obeisance to *superior knowledge*, no matter in whom it might be lodged. For God's sake, see straight, think straight, and talk straight—that was the man's whole spirit. And his god was God the omniscient. If he was egoistic, his was the egoism of a Richard Wagner—the egoism of a man who *knows when he knows*, and, of stout heart and inflexible will, has had his ego enlarged and hardened by years of combat with little people who, from his advanced point of view, must appear as dunderheads and fools.

Yes, just as Wagner was a revolutionist—a man of the future—in the world of music, so Frederick Winslow Taylor was a revolutionist—a man of the future—in the world of industry. If he was spared the unfortunate Wagner's terrible struggle with poverty, if he was prudent and shrewd where Wagner was imprudent and reckless, he nevertheless had the same high call to sacrifice his ease and wage valiant battle against tradition. Something of the immense significance of his career came to me after I had had that second morning's talk with him. I say *something*, but it was enough to make me drunk—so drunk that I could not trust the trolley to take me back to my hotel, but must needs attempt to walk it off.

Reader, you see, I knew that the ethical had been taught these thousands of years. "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." "Cast your bread upon the waters, and it will return to you after many days." "We are formed for co-operation, like hands and feet." "Never take advantage; *give* advantage." Thus had spoken the prophets, the poets, and the philosophers. But who was going to believe these things—except on Sundays? Who was going to attempt to practice these things—except after business hours? Who, in business, was going to refuse to take advantage *when everybody was doing it?*

But here, now, was this man Taylor—one of the most intensely practical men that ever breathed. If he were now alive, he would be the first to confirm the fact that, when he embarked on the inquiry that was destined to lift industrial management from the low plane of empiricism and tradition to the high plane of modern science, he did not do so as a prophet, poet, or philosopher, but simply as an engineer who steadily was accumulating wealth for his employers and a big fortune for himself through his observance of the principle that "the *dollar* is the final term in almost every equation which arises in the practice of engineering." Beyond all doubt, Fred Taylor recognized that the engineer is, by the nature of his profession, an economist, and that, just as the best machine is the one that does the work with the least cost, so the best type of industrial management is the one that insures for the establishment the lowest production costs consistent with the maintenance of a given standard of quality. Beyond all doubt this was his ideal. Unquestionably this was all at which he aimed. But, for Heaven's sake, what was he now doing? He was trying to bring about in the industrial world a revolution. Yes; but what kind of a revolution? Why, just as sure as you were born, it was a *moral* revolution. He was demanding that employers experience a change of heart like unto that of a religious conversion. He was crying out with a loud voice that his scientific system of management would not work unless it were animated by the spirit of brotherly love. In sum, he was trying to beat it into men's thick, bony heads that the way to make more money was to obey what the prophets, poets, and philosophers have been teaching us for, lo, these many years!

And here let me say that my subsequent visits to the industrial establishments where his system of management had been installed proved to me conclusively that what he said about the ethical nature of his system was strictly true. Indeed, about the first impression likely to be made upon any outsider by the Taylor system is that of a system such as

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might very well have been designed by men whose *primary object* was to inculcate the principle of brotherly love.

"I venture to believe," said Dr. Alexander C. Humphreys, President of the Stevens Institute of Technology, after hearing H. F. Gantt, one of Mr. Taylor's associates, read a paper on the subject of scientific management before the American Society of Mechanical Engineers—"I venture to believe that if this system were generally introduced through the United States, the resulting moral uplift would attract more attention than the increase in dividend-earning capacity." And Professor William Kent said at the same meeting: "The hopeful thing about this paper is that it is in harmony with humanitarian ideas."

Naturally, I cannot here go into the technical details of this system. I can but point out that it is based and depends for its smooth working on at least two great ethical principles: (1) The strong must serve the weak; (2) Give in order to get. And let it be made plain also that no one who has looked into its workings can doubt for a minute that Mr. Taylor's scientifically designed managerial mechanism is accomplishing its primary object of reducing production costs. As a matter of fact, what makes it scientific is not its ethical but its economic success. Nevertheless, the important fact for us is that we here see the economic and the ethical going hand in hand, and apparently not in any accidental relation, but with the ethical existing in relation to the economic as a necessary concomitant.

What does this signify? It is right here, I think, that we have the fundamental significance of Mr. Taylor's whole career, the deep significance of the fact that, beginning as a practitioner of economics, he was led to become a powerful preacher of ethics.

"Cannot love be as well as hate?" asks Ralph Waldo Emerson. "Would not love answer the same end, or even a better? Cannot peace be as well as war?" And he goes on to cite the objections of the "practical" men; namely, that peace might very well be if the world were all a church, if all the men were the best men, if all would agree to accept this rule. And much the same answer has been commonly made to those of us who have fondly dreamed that industrial peace could be as well as industrial war; that in business the love which gives advantage might answer even a better end than the hate which takes advantage. Yes, we advocates of industrial peace also have been told that we mistake the times; that we overestimate the virtue of men; that if all would agree to accept the rule, it might work, but for one to attempt it alone were absurd.

Not only have we been told this—we still continue to be told it. And surely here is a strange situation: These "practical" men admit the excellence of our aim, but deny its expediency. All admit it *ought* to be, but they deny it *can* be. Some say it cannot now be and some say it never can be. Some say that employers must go on trying to take advantage of employees until kingdom come, and that employees must go on organizing to fight back. It is true that it ought not to be, but it must be. We all of us know a better way, but that way to us is closed. God may be in his heaven all right, but the devil is in our world; and so in this world we must go on behaving like the devil and fighting like the devil. Yes, this is what the talk of these "practical" men comes right down to; they say, in effect, that nature, instead of being a harmonious unity, is a dissonant duality—that all things are in a deuce of a mess, out of which we may get some time, but possibly never.

Does not the career of Frederick W. Taylor, the man who saw straight and thought straight, show up these "practical" men for just what they are? Does it not signify—nay, *demonstrate*—that the really practical men are not those commonly so called, but the prophets, the poets, and the philosophers—all those who, like Emerson, have "put trust in ideas and not in circumstances," and have had the faith to declare that, despite all indications to the contrary, "what is the best must be the true; and what is true—that is, what is at bottom fit and agreeable to the constitution of man—must at last prevail over all obstacles and all opposition"?

That Mr. Taylor was *forced* to build an ethical system of management when he started out to build a scientific one I think will readily appear when we come to look into it.

That is the best mechanical device which does the work at the lowest cost. Yes, but in order to attain the lowest cost it must be able to stand up under all the stress and strain to which it is ever likely to be subject; which is to say that the engineer who designs a mechanical device, whether it be a bridge or the locomotive that passes over the bridge, must aim at *permanent* and *enduring* results.

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How are such results obtained? There is only one way: The engineer cannot design willfully, capriciously, or idiosyncratically. He cannot use this material or that material simply because it may be cheaper or look prettier than some other material. He cannot say to heat, "I wish you would act this way," and he cannot say to gravity, "I wish you would act that way." No; he must humbly submit himself to *law*. He must observe the natural *order* of things, and design in harmony with this order. He must select in accordance with *right* relations. As we say, he must plan *justly* and build *honestly*. All this he must do, if he would do his duty as an economist.

Is it not self-evident that the managerial engineer no less than the mechanical engineer must aim at permanent and enduring results? If a managerial mechanism were likely to break down under the stress and strain of every-day operation, how could you say that it, any more than any other kind of a mechanism, was designed to work with the least cost? Surely, then, the managerial engineer is no more free than is the mechanical engineer to design willfully, capriciously, or idiosyncratically. As a matter of fact, when we once understand that order is but the placing of things in right (*i. e.*, natural) relations of co-existence or sequence, we shall readily see, what we all must intuitively feel, that orderliness is indispensable if we would give permanence to anything.

But, it may be said, the mechanical engineer has to deal only with inanimate things, while the managerial engineer must deal with human beings. What then? Shall it be said that, while there is a natural order governing the relations of inanimate things, there is no natural order governing the relations of human beings? Why, to say such a thing would be the same as saying that when we step from the inanimate plane up to the human plane we leave a region of law and enter a region of anarchy!

No; Mr. Taylor found that there were right relations among human beings as among inanimate things, and, being an economist, he, willy-nilly, had to build in harmony with this natural order. And this, you see, is but to say that he had to build in accordance with what is just and honest in human relations, with what is right in human character and conduct—in a word, with the ethical.

Said Mr. Gantt in the paper he read before the American Society of Mechanical Engineers: "A system of management may be defined as a means of causing men to co-operate with each other for a common end. If this co-operation is maintained by force, the system is in a state of unstable equilibrium, and will go to pieces if the strong hand is removed. Co-operation in which the bond is mutual interest in the success of work done by intelligent and honest methods produces a state of equilibrium which is stable and needs no outside support."

Now, what clearly appears from this is that, while in dealing with human beings you can be ethical without being practical, you cannot at the last analysis be practical without being ethical. Certainly we here have seen that you cannot be truly economical without being ethical; and if the truly economical is not the practical, what is it? Here, in fact, is the meaning of that oft-quoted and much misunderstood command of Emerson's, "Hitch your wagon to a star." It was not Emerson's idea at all that we should hitch up with a star so that when we have said good-by to this workaday world we may be carried up to heaven. He saw, did this shrewdest of Yankees, that hitching up with a star is right here and now the most practical thing to do—is the way to have our worldly wagon carried along with the least effort on our part. Take the context of his saying, and you will realize that this is so:

"Now that is the wisdom of a man, in every instance of his labor, to hitch his wagon to a star and see his chore done by the gods themselves. That is the way we are strong, by borrowing the might of the elements."

Undoubtedly what Emerson meant was that nature is at bottom sound, whole, moral, ethical—hence the symbol of the star—and that when we work *with* nature all her forces help to carry us along, while when we work *against* nature we have to resort to an uneconomical expenditure of force, uneconomical both because it is unnecessary and because it cannot be sustained.

Of course it may be said that this has been sensed by all clear thinkers for many years. Says President Hadley, of Yale, in his work on "Economics:"

"No economist of reputation at the present day would attempt to ignore the ethical aspects of an institution, as might have been done fifty years ago. Instead of asserting the complete independence of economics and ethics, the modern economist, whether individualist or socialist, would insist on the close

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connection between the two sciences. He would say that nothing could be economically beneficial which was ethically bad, because such economic benefit could be only transitory."

Yes, it may be true that clear thinkers always have associated true economy with the stable and the permanent, and for a long time have agreed that nothing can be stable or permanent that is out of harmony with the natural order, which among human beings is the ethical. Even so, it seems to me it must be conceded that it is a tremendous thing to have had, here in the United States of America, the moral soundness of nature and the practicality of the ethical demonstrated in dollars and cents. And that is just what Frederick W. Taylor, of Philadelphia, did for us. When, for example, his ethical system of management was introduced at the Watertown Arsenal, the labor cost of making certain molds for the pommel of a pack-saddle was reduced from $1.17 each to 54 cents. And whereas, again, the labor cost of building a 6-inch disappearing gun-carriage had been $10,229, it was reduced to $6,950. Taken from an official Government report, these figures are eloquent.

It has been here asked if the career of Frederick W. Taylor has not shown up those so-called practical people for just what they are. Surely here is the proof that what they think is their practicality is really their ignorance, their myopia, their cowardice, their greed. They are people who can see nothing but immediate results. They cannot wait for God's fruit to ripen. Even at the best, they are essentially of the get-rich-quick type, demanding, as they do, immediate results at almost any cost. They do not see that if their methods often bring them a measure of prosperity, it simply is because there could be no play for morality with punishment immediately overtaking offense. They forget that, while "we can drive a stone upward for a moment into the air, it is yet true that all stones will forever fall." They overlook the fact that no one yet has derived any real or lasting profit from that which is obtained at a fellow human being's expense. Long have we suspected all this; but now we *know* it.

Let it always be kept in mind that Mr. Taylor's work was not confined to building up that system of his which as it became scientifically economic had to become scientifically ethical. After he got it built experience taught him that it could not be depended upon to work—that is, to go on making more money than any other system—*unless it were animated by the spirit of brotherly love.* And he has shown us just why this must be. He has shown us that, if morality can be coined, it must be real morality—that is, the giving must not be done simply for the sake of the getting, but mainly because it is the right thing to do, the thing that gives us pleasure to do, seeing that our own good is inseparably bound up with the good of all.

Cannot love be as well as hate? Would not love answer the same end, or even a better? Cannot peace be as well as war?

Reader, the more thoroughly you look into it, the more you will see that the career of Frederick W. Taylor—love and peace be with his soul!—fully demonstrates to us that these things can be, not only in some dim and distant future, not only in some remote heaven, but right here and now. He was no prophet, he was no poet; he was simply a man of science, a straight-seeing, straight-thinking, straight-talking, and straight-acting engineer. Could anything be more significant? Does it not signify that to renovate society on the principles of right and justice we do not need any revolutionary change in government, but simply the moral revolution which must inevitably go with the knowledge of what is really practical and the substitution of enlightened self-interest for the prevailing stupid type?

It is true that here is a difficulty. If Mr. Taylor had shown that what we need in order to attain to the highest practicality is the vision of the fact that our own good is inseparably bound up with the good of all men, the question arises, can this vision come unless we love our fellow-men to begin with? In truth, does not his whole message come down to just this: that love is indispensable to sight; that if God is all-seeing, it is because God is love?

And if this is so, where does it put me in connection with Mr. Taylor himself? Here I have represented him to have been simply a man of science. Surely my two talks with him must have given me only a superficial knowledge of the man, or I have been sacrificing truth to score the rhetorical point that all prophets *feel*, while men of science can *see*. Perhaps because of his New England, not to speak of his Quaker, ancestry, Mr. Taylor was something of a prophet also. Perhaps there was hidden in him much of the spirit of his

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mother, the anti-slavery agitator. Certainly I cannot deny that this my present suspicion receives support from the fact that since I started to write this article I have had sent me a Philadelphia newspaper in which I read that at Mr. Taylor's funeral one of his oldest associates testified that "he [Mr. Taylor] had a wonderful capacity for friendliness, a capacity that could stretch across seven seas, last a lifetime, and reach the lowest man in the ranks." And I read in this newspaper also that sayings frequently on Mr. Taylor's lips were: "I can no longer afford to work for money," "All our inventions are made to produce human happiness," "In all your relations do to the other fellow as you would have him do to you."

Well, waiving the question as to which comes first, the sight or the love, I think we can take our stand on the broad principle that immorality is always crookedness, and that science is science only as it sees straight; so that it must inevitably follow that along with such an impetus as has been given to the scientific spirit in the world of industry by Frederick W. Taylor there must occur a moral revolution. And that this revolution has at least begun is, I think, manifest to every one who is informed as to what leading business men throughout the country are thinking about, and what so many of them are planning to do and actually are doing. And we have reason to believe also that it is not only in connection with labor that scientific management is tending to bring about a moral revolution. Producing *exact* knowledge in every department of industry, scientific management must needs be a foe to all *loose* methods, including not only downright lying and cheating, but the misrepresentation that comes from exaggeration.

Years ago Emerson wrote: "I have just been conversing with one man to whom no weight of adverse experience will make it for a moment appear impossible that thousands of human beings might share and obey each with the other the grandest and truest sentiments, as well as a knot of friends or a pair of lovers." I think that, thanks chiefly to Frederick W. Taylor, of Philadelphia, this is a notion that from now on will be entertained by a steadily increasing number. Already world-wide, the influence of Frederick W. Taylor's life and work must go marching on to make more and more see that in industry love can be as well as hate, that peace can be as well as war.

"Revolutions," says Emerson, "go not backward. The star once risen, though only one man in the hemisphere has yet seen its upper limb in the horizon, will mount and mount, until it becomes visible to other men, to multitudes, and climbs the zenith of all eyes. And so it is not a great matter how long men refuse to believe the advent of peace: war is on its last legs; and a universal peace is as sure as is the prevalence of civilization over barbarism, of liberal government over feudal forms. The question for us is only, *How soon?*"

SOMETHING BETTER THAN PHILANTHROPY

BY MARY DEWHURST

THE woman capitalist as a factor in industry is a modern phenomenon. Before the twentieth century almost no woman of property understood the details of its administration, far less the economics of an industry. Her ultimate conception of responsibility for wealth lay in "welfare work" among her employees. Any factory or mill owner who looked to the sanitation, safety, and education of her workers straightway assumed kinship with Ben Adhem, the blessed, and automatically donned the halo of those who loved their fellow-men. More than this none dreamed of, until a happy, sane, thoroughgoing woman of the world, weary of piffling palliatives known as philanthropy, turned her extremely incisive mind to a solution of her own problem of personal property.

The Dennison Manufacturing Company, of South Framingham, Massachusetts, is an industry which manufactures, among other things, the waterproof tags for all the bales, boxes, and bundles of this country. The

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majority of the stock of this business was inherited by Mrs. J. P. Warbasse on the death of her father, Mr. H. K. Dyer, about four years ago. Mrs. Warbasse is the wife of Dr. Warbasse, a surgeon and author, of Brooklyn, New York, and the mother of six children. Their home seems peculiarly the normal, attractive dwelling of those whose quiet simplicity portrays their wealth to have been so long a matter of course as to resent advertisement. Mrs. Warbasse herself is a graduate of Packer Institute, Brooklyn. She is an energetic little person, of quick imagination and lively sympathies, wearing no outward label of fanatic or iconoclast. As an "uplifter" she would look on herself as an intruder, probably because of a well-developed sense of the ironic. "Look at that youngster," she said, pointing to her second boy. "The other day, when we were discussing with the children what each should do when he grew up, he said, 'I'll have to do something to earn a lot of money, because some one has got to have enough to keep *him*,' laying his hand on his little brother's head, 'out of jail. He steals so, you know, he'd be in jail all the time.' You see," Mrs. Warbasse explained, "there are frequent calls to the telephone for Dr. Warbasse, when he is asked to put up bail for some victim of the free-speech fight or labor difficulty, so that the boy is early impressed with his future responsibilities. He never for a moment expects us to leave him an inheritance. Instead, he knows he will have to earn his own living. We would be doing him no kindness if we made work unnecessary for him."

Such is the view-point in her domestic life of the woman who has persuaded her other stockholders to co-operate with her in the most radical programme set on foot in America for the return to the worker of a larger share in the profits of his labor. That, together with the determination to administer the property at the point of production, and not a thousand miles away in the offices of some absentee owner or board of directors, is the foremost innovation in the scheme proposed for the Dennison Company. On the one hand, the whole of the profits, above certain fixed charges for interest on capital, go to the employees; on the other, absentee ownership and the unearned increment—described as the curses of our modern industrial system—are done away with.

In the Dennison Manufacturing Company the distribution of the profits and control of the business have been provided for in this way:

The original company sold out its entire property—assets, including good will, name, and business, subject to its liabilities—to a new corporation, which was organized under the same name under the laws of Massachusetts.

This new company was authorized to issue preferred stock at the par value of $100 per share, which was to have a preferential cumulative dividend at the rate of eight per cent per annum. Four and a half million dollars of this stock were issued and given to the old stockholders to replace two and a half million dollars of stock of the old company.

Common or industrial partnership stock was issued to those "principal employees" who were defined as employees earning $1,200 a year or more. The first issue of this common stock was to be paid for at the rate of $10 a share in cash by the employees themselves, after this to be issued annually to these employees in proportion to their salary until $1,000,000 of industrial partnership stock had been issued. As soon as the employees have obtained that amount the entire control of the industry is to be turned over to them; meanwhile the voting power is vested in the owners of the preferred and industrial stock together; holders of the preferred to have one vote per share, and of the industrial one vote for every ten shares.

This reorganization was instituted three years ago. In another two years it is expected that the employees will have acquired the $1,000,000 of industrial stock agreed upon, when the control of the corporation will be turned over to them. After that time the preferred stock will carry no voting power. Both before and after such arrangement there will be no pressure put upon the workers to induce them to increase their output, or to "speed up" in their work, or to make capital of their loyalty as against their own interests, since by law only eight per cent in dividends can *ever* be paid on the preferred stock. After the interest on the preferred stock has been paid there must be set aside five per cent of the net profits for the buying in of all this stock, which will eventually lead to the complete ownership of the property by its employees.

The remaining net profits are to be divided among the employees in proportion to the salaries they earn, by the issuance of this

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common or industrial stock, on which the dividends will hereafter be paid. This industrial stock must be sold back to the company at par value whenever an employee dies or leaves the company, thus maintaining always the industrial partners as permanent participants in the business.

The principal employees, then, are not only the working but the governing body, and get the fruits and pay the penalties of their management.

These principal employees are subject, like every other employee, to the same rules and discipline, which means that they may be dismissed for incompetency or any other cause. But, if they are discharged or forced to resign, they have the right to appeal to their own Board of Directors, and the decision of this Board will be final.

Also, not more than half of the net profits remaining after satisfying all prior requirements shall be paid in dividends upon industrial partnership stock, and no one such dividend shall exceed twenty per cent.

It requires a two-thirds vote of the full Board of Directors to approve any salary of twelve hundred dollars or more, such Board to be composed of not less than five or more than nine members, as the stockholders may determine.

Such are the main stipulations under which the owners of the Dennison Company stepped aside for the benefit of their employees.

The plan itself challenges immediate criticism by its central provision: Why confine the control and profit-sharing to those employees who receive twelve hundred dollars a year or over? When this question was put to Mrs. Warbasse, she at once admitted its validity; in reply she gave the following answer, in which she sets out the opinions of Henry Dennison, who, with Mrs. Warbasse, is responsible for the reorganization of the industry. He is a son of the founder of the business and is its general manager.

"It was believed," said Mrs. Warbasse, taking up the argument, "that workers making *less* than twelve hundred dollars a year (granting that it is possible to make any arbitrary discrimination) are the ones who put into the business merely the value of their weekly wage, provided, of course, that they are paid fair wages at the market rate and over; it is the men and women earning that sum and *more* who are the profit-makers for the company; they are the ones who bring to it that intangible asset which enables it to take in more money than it pays out. They are justly, therefore, the only ones who should share the profits, provided always that the wages paid the mass of the workers be fair and adequate. For like reasons these profit-makers are the ones who should direct the policy of the company and ultimately own it."

Actually, Mrs. Warbasse seems not completely satisfied with this explanation, and would welcome some reduction of restrictions in the sharing of control and profits. Were she personally on the ground, one of the workers herself, she would work toward that end. She points out with real regret that it is almost impossible to stir the Dennison employees to protest or suggest any changes in the conditions under which they work. "They're far too well satisfied," she declares, laughingly. "It's like trying to make a two-months-old baby walk. They won't form committees or send representatives to present their views. There's no wholesome discontent. As for labor unions, with the exception of the typographers', there is none in the plant, and as long as wages are higher and hours shorter at the Dennison Company than elsewhere, they are not likely to have any. The only unionization possible to the industry would be an industrial one of all the workers. But there is one thing to remember," and here Mrs. Warbasse became emphatic: "while the reorganization so far has had to come from the employers, from the top and not up from below, of all the 'welfare work' or social betterment in the factory, none of it has ever been done which has not first been asked for by the workers themselves. They have their lunch-rooms, their rest-rooms, gymnasiums, classes in English, in music and literature, but each of these is the outcome of a need or request of the operatives to which they have given voice. We don't believe," she went on, half humorously, "in handing such things to people in the guise of undesired philanthropy. Most philanthropy is unsound. For instance," and here she laughed a little, "the treasurer of one of the Standard Oil companies sent a woman worker to me a while ago to ask a subscription to a free kindergarten in Brooklyn. I told her to go back to Mr. —— and tell him to divide with his workmen the share of unearned increment which he was enjoying, and to induce the manufacturers and business men of Brooklyn to do the same,

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and we should need no *free* kindergartens. Every one would be in a position to pay for his own children's needs. "We men and women who live on income derived from profits earned by others are the great stumbling-blocks in that industrial democracy which is the dream and goal of all really human beings. This experiment of the Dennison Manufacturing Company is only a slight measure of justice to the workers. We are looking forward to and working ultimately toward our own elimination as capitalists."

It has been variously stated that the radical doctrines of one age become the "enlightened policies" of the next. In 1885 Dr. Lyman Abbott foresaw in The Outlook, then the "Christian Union," the time when "the conflict between labor and capital will come to an end in an epoch when the capitalists will be laborers and the laborers will be capitalists; in which neither employers nor government but industry itself will control its implements of industry, and will at once control and compensate its own toil." Twenty-five years ago and more Dr. Abbott argued this industrial democracy "to be practicable or at least possible." It was a prevision, a beautiful dream, which, with the faith of one who had preached and worked to rid the world of slavery, he believed would some day come true. After twenty-five years he, and more, believe it still. But even Dr. Abbott never added to this dream the fantastic notion that among the first to launch this Utopia on its glory-path would be a well-to-do-woman, who, not content with the easy rôle of charitable ladyhood, studied the failures and few successes of copartnership and profit-sharing enterprises in England and the United States, and then decided to go beyond them all in the industry for which she felt herself in part responsible.

MY IMMIGRANT NEIGHBORS

BY GERTRUDE BARNUM

III—GRAZIELLA'S DEBT

GRAZIELLA BONTI at fourteen carried the burdens, not only of the financial and domestic cares of a large family, but also of a growing number of her unfortunate neighbors in the Italian colony. She rose at dawn to bargain for Italian loaves, oils, ripe olives, peppers, pickles, cheeses, etc., arranged for their display in the store window which had been built in the front of their basement tenement, got the older children off to school, rushed through housework, collected rents for her invalid father, who was part owner of the ramshackle tenement in which they lived, washed, mended, cooked—and Heaven knows what else Graziella accomplished before tidying up for her philanthropic duties, which consisted in personally conducting the sick, sore, lame, and poor of her colony to any institution which offered hope of relief.

Apparently Graziella's mother never had attempted to throw off the heavy homesickness for the old country where she had known better days, never had ceased to resent the ugliness, foreignness, poverty, of Liberty Street. She crocheted or embroidered in morose silence, reminding one of the knitting women of the French Revolution. To cope with the ever-recurring misfortunes and problems besetting her large family evidently seemed hopeless to her, and she had given up, confining herself to a few monotonous motions, tending the tiny store and watching the baby.

My first acquaintance with Graziella was connected with finding "jobs" as laborers for her young man cousin and sixteen of his associates. And that acquaintance was cemented next day when I was conducted by Graziella, with great mystery, through various crooked streets and alleys, across a court behind one building to a rear tenement, into a dark hall, up winding, narrow, creaking steps, in pitch darkness, to the door of a rear room. Through this door soon were disclosed, out of the gloom beyond, the figures of the seventeen grateful men, who, with Graziella's aid, had arranged for me a watermelon party, in token of appreciation of the jobs. We then and there ate the watermelon, and Graziella and I rather naturally sealed our friendship, being the only women present

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and the only persons who spoke a word of English.

Graziella was a beauty. Soft, dusky ringlets caressed her baby forehead, dark Madonna eyes, rich brunette oval face tapering to a sensitive little chin, a slender throat, a slim, free, swaying figure—oh, the youths did not pass her by unnoticed! But she was far too busy to think of beaus. She scarcely saw them lounging about, ogling her, except as part of the background of the street, with all its other familiar sights—fruit carts, dirty children, hand organs with monkeys, coquettish girls, fortune-telling parrots, and the rest.

Beaus there were, of course, and occasionally she responded to them with a smile that brought dimples and delightful curves around the usually grave red lips.

There came a time, however, when the beau matter had to be reckoned with, could no longer be flirted aside for attention to more pressing matters. And so one day, when Graziella was fifteen, she came to announce her engagement to Antonio Fortunata, a young carpenter. With blushes and half sobs, half laughter, she told how the handsome blond boy stranger had blocked her way out of church and insisted that his intentions were serious. He had followed her home from church, in spite of protests, and, being of good family, good habits, and a two-hundred-dollar fortune of savings, he had obtained the consent of her father almost immediately.

"But, Graziella, had you nothing to say about this?" she was asked.

"Oh, me! I like him, too," she replied, looking shyly at her clumsy boots.

And she was betrothed.

Through the long months which followed, apparently bringing the wedding-day no nearer, Antonio grew impatient; Graziella turned sixteen, seventeen, and his friends taunted him, asking him if he were going to wait to marry an old maid; for their own brides had been taken to the altar at fourteen and fifteen. At length, realizing that his fiancée never could extricate herself from family chains without aid, he took things into his own hands. He built a larger store for his prospective father-in-law, and stocked it well. He rented two front rooms of the old man and decorated and furnished them elaborately. He bought a trousseau for Graziella and wedding garments for the entire family. And finally, assuring the parents that they would not lose a daughter, but rather would gain a son, he spent his very last cent on a three days' wedding and triumphantly settled down to housekeeping with his wife. Then, alas! he lost his position.

Thus it was that Graziella was forced to add debt to her other heavy burdens. Her heart was heavy indeed as she accepted the loan I offered, for she knew that it was a season of much unemployment and that her husband was scrupulous about standards of wages and hours.

When we met during the following fall and winter, she would shrug her shoulders and hold out empty hands, indicating her predicament. But loyally she supported Antonio's standards:

"Tony no taka de 'scab' job," she explained. "De boss lika Tony—say he give tree an' a half, four dolla. Tony go—an' see it's a strike!"

Toward the end of November, one day, Graziella, breathless from running, came to tell us that the anxious waiting and searching were over, for now her husband at last had been sent to work by the union. And after that, at our meetings, the little bride wore a knowing, happy air, as of one who soon could cancel obligations and look the world in the face with independence.

My Christmas holidays were spent in a neighboring suburb, and among the Christmas morning surprises which greeted my eyes was one huge, coffin-like box which had been delivered by express. The efforts of my entire family, with hammers, screw-drivers, and chisels, finally disclosed to view a startling, more-than-life-sized colored crayon portrait of myself, enlarged from a photograph I had presented to Graziella years before, and incased in numberless elaborately decorated tiers and terraces of white-and-gold and plush framing. The eyes which greeted us were enlarged and of a cerulean blue. Pure gold was the hair, ruby red the lips and cheeks, and the simplicity of attire in the original photograph scarcely could be recognized beneath the embroideries, necklaces, brooches, and bracelets supplied by the generous artist.

After the first waves of appreciation had spent themselves, some one suggested that from people carrying heavy debts this gift was a sign of reckless extravagance; but the idea was promptly suppressed as unworthy of further comment. And whatever criticism may have lurked in our minds was fully dispelled when a few months later the Fortunatas called in state formally to return the

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full amount which had been loaned to them in the fall.

"Tony say we no maka de Christmas pitcher," Graziella explained. "He say we pay quick de mon'. I say, 'Not so. First I pay from here—[she pressed her hands to her bosom]. To the heart I pay quick. If I die, first she know I giva back de love she trust me. De mon' it comes after." Then, laying a restraining hand upon her husband's arm to prevent interruption, and bending her beautiful head wistfully to one side, she left the matter for me to decide: "Have I right?"

And so it became plain to me that Graziella, so sorely in need of a friend, had felt the debt of the heart even more deeply than she had felt the debt of money.

THE READER'S VIEW

WAR AND POPULATION

I am glad to have a correction to my recent article in The Outlook on "The Duration of the World War" suggested by H. M. Chittenden, Brigadier-General United States Army (retired), a higher authority than I can expect to be. I stated that if Germany were growing at the rate of one million inhabitants a year, five hundred thousand fresh men would be available each year for military service. General Chittenden thinks the replacement number would at the outside be one hundred thousand, an estimate I think is too low.

Perhaps "*in medias res veritas*." The peace strength of Germany is given by the World Almanac as 870,000; the reserves as 4,530,000; total war strength, 5,400,000. The years of service are two for recruits. It was the increase of recruiting service to three years by France that angered Germany in 1912, because it brought the French standing army up to the German in numbers. If there are 870,000 men in two years' service, the annual inflow must be above 400,000, not under 100,000, after allowing for officers.

As Germany is growing very rapidly in population, the number of recruits would be greater each year in the future than past records indicate, and as henceforth barriers as to size and other similar fanciful standards will be lowered, we may well expect the number available to grow to 450,000 in Germany alone. If Austria-Hungary is included, the number of recruits a year apparently swells 240,000 more, making the total of new recruits each year a minimum of about 700,000 for the central empires, provided they have not already forestalled future levies. Therefore, again must I dissent from so low an estimate as 100,000 as an outside figure. One fact is, however, worth many guesses, and in military circles it must be well known what the actual annual levies were in Germany and Austria each year from 1900 to 1914.

It has been suggested that the Germans can have recourse to a very effective way of increasing their fighting levies. For actual bloody fighting in trenches, etc., men are needed. But probably one-quarter of the soldiers are busy with non-fighting duties—clerical, transportation, garrison, etc. At a pinch these positions could be filled by women. Who doubts that German women would welcome the opportunity thus to serve the Fatherland, and who doubts that the Prussian military staff, in spite of its contempt for women, would resort to this measure to increase effective fighting strength?

Also, I am not willing to admit that a lowered mortality among children would have no bearing on the present war. It is well known that in general hygiene or survival rate among the young Germany and Austria are woefully behind their skill shown in other directions, as in war and in trade. Germany consistently puts both ahead of human life. Future soldiers can be increased in two ways: by increasing the birth rate and decreasing the death rate. The death rate of boys under eighteen can be decreased all the way down to the new-borns, and as probably twenty per cent of German children die before they are one year old (compare some American records of less than ten per cent), there is great room for immediate improvement. The birth rate itself could also be increased.

As I expect the war to last a whole generation, I cannot admit that an increased birth rate will have no effect on the present war.

Finally, there are still several ways for Germany to make her levies more effective.

Germany has attained a wonderful result in building up the morale of her troops and of her peoples, but the General Staff still counts in a man as it would count in a pound of cannon.

I am impartial and neutral when I state that Germany has been so keen on war power and wealth expansion that one cannot help wonder at her unintelligent disregard of such a valuable asset as human life. Infant mortality in Germany is, for so boastful and cultured a people, extraordinarily high, probably four times as high as in some of our American Western States.

There are four cardinal rules of efficiency applicable to an army as well as to any other

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undertaking. Each reader may judge for himself the extent to which they have been comprehended by the German General Staff, and I make this argument, not to discredit the German war machine, but to show that the Germans have reserves of resistance they have not yet drawn on:

Rule One. Do not spend too many men for the result to be obtained. Have more men been wounded and killed than necessary for the parts of Belgium, Poland, and France held?

Rule Two. Use the men best adapted for the end in view. Are university professors and other mental types the best men for motive positions?

Rule Three. Standardize the methods of maintenance as well as those of operation. Is population being maintained by intelligent reduction of the death rate?

Rule Four. Utilize each man to the maximum rational limit of endurance. This is fully observed, but it is the crudest of the four rules.

New York City. HARRINGTON EMERSON.

ALCOHOL AND ACCIDENT

In your issue of June 30 Mr. Samuel Wilson presented the vital statistics of life insurance, showing relative mortality of insured drinkers and non-drinkers as a negative answer to the query, "Is moderate drinking justified?" In your issue of August 11 Mr. Edward A. Hobbs dissents from the answer on the ground that the drinking or non-drinking factor is a matter of record only at the time insurance began. He finds it necessary to admit exceptions in certain English companies in which the non-drinking class is required to make annual avowal of such abstinence. This is significant in view of the fact that the relative mortality of drinkers and non-drinkers in such companies confirms the records of other companies in Europe and America.

Mr. Hobbs amplifies his point by saying, "It is almost a certainty that the applicant who has been written down as a total abstainer or moderate drinker in his application will not remain in that classification for the duration of his policy." The inference is that the transition would be to immoderate drinking, and that it is the effect of such drinking that the insurance record measures. It is not necessary to raise a doubt by an assumption. Indeed, the assumption made is, with comparatively few exceptions, contrary to our knowledge. Those insured drinkers are our acquaintances, and many of them our intimates. We know them for what they, with an exception here and there, are—moderate drinkers during the period of insurance. It must be admitted that since the tendency of moderate drinking is toward increased drinking, the insurance record against the first is accentuated by the second. But every observant person knows that the insured drinkers as a class are not hard drinkers. They are preeminently representative of the moderate-drinking class. If Mr. Hobbs's assumption that the latter almost certainly becomes a hard-drinking class is true, it is an additional forceful negative to the query, "Is moderate drinking justified?"

If Mr. Hobbs's assumption that the insured non-drinker becomes a drinker during insurance is true, he offers evidence disproving his contention. It is obvious that a transition from the non-drinking into the drinking class after insurance would raise the mortality of the first and lower that of the second in the erroneous record that would thereby be created. The increased mortality of non-drinkers who become drinkers is automatically and wrongly charged in the record against the non-drinking class, while at the same time the influx of initially higher vitality into the drinking class lowers its mortality rate.

No non-drinker applying for insurance ever says that he is a drinker. It is quite conceivable that not a few persons who, knowing the rule against it, take a drink occasionally, feel that they can conscientiously say, on applying for insurance, that they are not drinkers. The rarely occasional drinker is likely to become a regular drinker. J. L. CAMPBELL.

El Paso, Texas.

MUNITIONS OF WAR

Mr. Ernst L. C. Schulz's letter in The Outlook of August 11 is so typical of the pro-German view-point that I cannot refrain from making an observation on the subject. First, I am tired of the now worn-out accusation of "furnishing the Allies arms and ammunition." Are we hindering Germany from coming to our shores for arms and ammunition? Or for anything else she may want? On the other hand, are we facilitating the transportation of such to the Allies? Is it more than reasonable that we, as a Nation of business men rather than warriors, should sell to those who come and buy, to those who keep the trade routes open, to those who by their naval prowess have made shipping to themselves safe? When Germany reverses the tables and clears the seas of allied war-ships, she will find it an easy matter to buy from us; but, basing my conclusions on Germany's late naval depredations, if such a time ever comes, I doubt not that we will find her a much sterner mistress of the seas than we at present have.

If Germany is armed simply as a measure of protection, how may we reconcile her minute preparations in the face of the unpreparedness of the other European powers?

When the German people are finally wakened and can see what a burden they are carrying in the Kaiser's militaristic ambitions, they will probably elect a president who cannot spend his lifetime planning a baptism in blood for a civilized continent.

Yours for a twentieth-century renaissance,

Glacier Park, Montana. F. P. SHERBURNE.

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